A

GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE,

BASED MAINLY ON VARARUCHI, HEMACHANDRA AND PURUSHOTTAMA

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To

the Sacred Memory of my Mother

त्यक्तस्य प्राप्तमोक्षायै मात्रे निराश्रयस्य मे ।

संसारदावदग्धस्य सुतस्येयं नमस्कृतिः ॥

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is a great satisfaction to me that the first edition of this work was exhausted in a comparatively short period of time, but, although its copies were not available in the market for many years, various factors stood in the way of the speedy publication of a second edition. Now those difficulties have been overcome and an enlarged edition of the book is placed in the hands of the students of Prakrit inscriptions, for whom it was primarily intended

The Index and the Glossary of Prakrit words have been compiled by Sri B P. Mishra, M A, of the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University I have also received some assistance from Dr S. Bandyopadhyay and Sm K. Bajpeyi, also of the Centre My sincere thanks are due to all of them.

645, New Alipore,
Calcutta-53
15.8.70

D. C. Sircar

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PREFATORY NOTE

(First Edition)

The present work forms a sort of supplement to the Prakrit portion of the *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, to which the author originally intended to append it. As a matter of fact printing of the earlier sections was almost complete before it was decided to publish the following pages as a separate volume

The aim of the author is principally to introduce the Prakrit language to students who have to study the epigraphs written in that language. An attempt has been made in these pages to describe Prakrit as it was known to the earlier grammarians Vararuchi, Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha, with special reference to Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the works of such medieval authorities as Hemachandra and Purushottama. The author's scheme will be clear from a glance at the notes appended to the chapters on declension and conjugation. As for instance, declension of a number of noun bases has been provided in the notes on Chapter V, in a tabular form, not only according to the system of Vararuchi, but has also been quoted from Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the grammar of Hemachandra The minor Prakrit dialects described by Hemachandra and Purushottama have been discussed either in the notes on relevant chapters or in the Appendix If the following pages be of some use to the students of Prakrit inscriptions, the author will consider his labours amply rewarded.

Owing to inconvenience caused by domestic troubles and the abnormal situation now prevailing in the country, the author has not been able to avoid misprints and errors. For these he craves the indulgence of readers. Any suggestion for improving the usefulness of the work will be most welcome.

पूर्वाचार्यग्रन्था नोत्सृष्टाः कुर्वता मया शास्त्रम् ।
तानवलोक्यैतच्च प्रयतध्वं कामतः सुजनाः ॥
अथवा भृशमपि सुजनः प्रथयति दोषार्णवाद्गुणं दृष्ट्वा ।
नीचस्तद्विपरीतः प्रकृतिरियं साध्वसाधूनाम् ॥

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Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University
The 30th March, 1943.

DINES CHANDA SIRCAR

A GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

Prakrit or the *Prākṛta-bhāshā* indicates the common or ordinary speech, or the language of the common people The word *prākṛta*, literally "non-artificial," points to the difference between this language and the literary or ceremonial language that was thought to be artificial It is generally believed that Prakrit is merely a corrupt form of the Sanskrit language. This view has been found to be erroneous The common speech of the Vedic Aryans which apparently differed in some respects from the literary language of the Samhitās (that was gradually becoming archaic) is no doubt the origin of the so-called Prakrit language. The ordinary speech of a people is liable to gradual change in course of time [1] The language of the common people of the early Vedic age changed continually and after several centuries assumed the form which we call Prakrit Sanskrit (=*samskṛita*, the refined speech) is the reformed, literary and elegant form of the same language at an early stage of its development This refined language was based on the speech of the cultured people (*śishta*), standardized by grammarians, the school of Pānini (c 6th century B C) of Gandhāra having been especially responsible for its final and stereotyped form Great religious teachers like Gautama the Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, as also their followers, preached their doctrines in the ordinary speech of the people. Prakrit was also the court-language in early times These are some of the causes that led to the growth of a polished and literary form of Prakrit which is known from epigraphic, classical and grammatical literature. Pāli, the scriptural language of the Hīnayāna Buddhists and Ārsha-Prākrita (usually called Ardha-Māgadhī)[2] the language of the early Jain Sūtras are also similar literary dialects based on Prakrit.

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1 Economy of effort or tendency to simplification, progressive refinement in courts, cities, etc, softening influence of the climate and the influence of non-Aryan languages on Indo-Aryan speech—these are supposed to have caused the Prakritic changes The dative case-affix, the dual number, the imperfect perfect and aorist tenses, declensions excepting the type of the *a*-stem, conjugations excepting the type of the *bhvādi* class, etc , etc were gradually disapearing from the common speech of the people

2 The language of the Jain religious literature is not the same as the so-called Ardha-Māgadhī of Sanskrit dramas. The language of the Digambara canon is called Jain Saurasenī, while the non-canonical books of the Śvetāmbaras are written in what is called Jain Mahārāshṭrī.

Philologists have divided the history of the Indo-Aryan languages into three periods, viz Old, Middle or Medieval, and New The speech of the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period is represented by the language of the Vedas as well as the spoken dialects on which the diction of the Epics and also the highly polished (*samskrita*) literary language called Sanskrit were based The Medieval or Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) period is represented by Pāli and the Prakrits comprising all dialects of the age beginning with the time when certain phonetic changes and grammatic variations had produced a language different from OIA, down to the time when further phonetic changes and break up of the old grammatical tradition had led to the growth of a new type of language similar to that of the modern Indo-Aryan dialects which represent the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) period The Prakrit period is further divided into three stages, viz Old, Medieval or Middle, and Late The Old Prakrit stage includes Pāli, and the Prakrit of the inscriptions, of the oldest Jain *Sūtras* and of early Sanskrit dramas like those of Aśvaghosha The Middle Prakrit stage is represented by the Prakrit of the classical Sanskrit dramas, of works like Hāla's *Sattasaī* and Guṇāḍhya's *Brihatkathā*, and of the Prakrit grammars. Unfortunately no sufficiently old Mss of early works like those of Kālidāsa are available, and the Mss at our disposal are not quite reliable for the Prakrits. A literary dialect called Apabhramśa is known from the 6th and 7th centuries A D , but the Late or the full fledged Apabhramśa stage was reached by the ordinary colloquial speech when the Prakrit of the dramas and grammars had already become archaic as also stereotyped owing to the efforts of grammarians. The living Apabhramśa dialects no doubt represent the earliest stage of the modern Indo-Aryan languages Apabhramśa is elaborately described by Hemachandra in the 12th century A D , but the Muslim chroniclers speak of verses in the *Lughat* (or *Jawān*) *Hindvī* (i.e , Hindī) composed by the Chandella contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd (997-1030 A D) 'Amīr Khusraw refers to Ma sūd ibn Sa'd (d.1121 or 1130 A D) as an author of Hindī verses

Indian grammarians have usually approached the Prakrit language from their stand on Sanskrit grammar, because their works were usually meant for the students of Sanskrit dramas who were expected to have a fair knowledge of the Sanskrit language and grammar Prakrit words and roots were therefore divided into three classes, viz *tat-sama*, (those which have no literal difference with Sanskrit words and roots), *tad-bhava* (those which are apparently derived from Sanskrit), and *desī* or *deśaja* (those which have no real or apparent relation with Sanskrit). The rules of Prakrit grammar are also shaped after the pattern of those of Sanskrit grammar

Scholars have recognised the existence of two Indian schools of Prakrit grammarians belonging respectively to the west and the east. The former is sometimes called the School of Vālmīki and the latter that of Vararuchi. To the western school belong the *Sūtras* traditionally ascribed to the author of the *Rāmāyana* (though in its present form it is apparently a late work composed or compiled by Trivikrama), and its commentaries the *Prākrita-vyākarana* by Trivikrama (c 13th century A D), the *Shadbhāshā-chandrikā* by Lakshmīdhara (16th century) and the *Prākṛita-rūpāvatāra* by Siṃharāja [1] The earliest known Prakrit grammar of the western school is the eighth chapter of the *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* by the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A D) of Gujarat, whose *sūtras* are independent, but follow the same system To the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians belongs the *Prākrita-prakāsa* by Vararuchi who is traditionally known to have been one of the Nine Gems of the court of the king Vikramāditya (=Chandra Gupta II, 376-414 A D) The earliest commentaries on this work are the *Prākrita-mañjarī* by Kātyāyana (c 6th-7th century A. D.) and the *Manoramā* by the Kashmirian Bhāmaha (c 7th-8th century).[2] Some scholars believe that Kātyāyana was another name of Vararuchi or that he was the real author of the *PP* It is however possible to suggest that the work was actually composed in the glorious days of classical Sanskrit drama about the time when the works of Kālidāsa (4th-5th century A D) were on the stage, but the first compilation of the *sūtras* may have been due to Kātyāyana Later important works of this school are the *Prākrita-kāmadhenu* (comm. *Prākrita-lankeśvara*) by Lankeśvara, the last chapter of the *Sankshiptasāra* by Kramadīśvara, the *Prākrita sañjīvanī* by Vasantarāja, the *Prākritānuśāsana* by Purushottama (12th century) of Bengal, the *Prākrita-kalpataru* by Rāmaśarmā (c 17th century) of Bengal and the *Prākrita-sarvasva* by Mārkandeya (c 17th century) of Orissa Mārkandeya refers to the following authorities on the subject—Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuchi, Bhāmaha, Vasantarāja and others The two schools of Prakrit grammarians differ from each other in many respects The most important points of difference are that their *ganas* rarely agree and that their accounts of the Paiśāchī Prakrit are mutually inconsistent The western school has its own Paiśāchī with several dialects and treats the Paiśāchī of the eastern school as an insignificant variety called the Chūlikā

1 He flourished in the 14th century according to Winternitz, but may be later than Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita of the 17th century according to Keith though he originally (*HIL*, Vol III, Part ii, p 450, note) accepted the said date (*HSL*, p 434)

2 That Kātyāyana is earlier than Bhāmaha is not only suggested by the three interpolated chapters (*PP* , X-XII) recognised by the latter, but also by some *sūtras* which the two commentators read differently, cf IV, 23, V, 5; VI, 31, 94; VIII, 2, etc

Paiśāchī, while the Paiśāchī of the eastern school has seven different dialects none of which agrees with any of its varieties described by the westerners. Some other works on Prakrit grammar are Chaṇḍa's *Prākrita-lakshana* (considerably old, according to scholars), Hrishikeśa's *Prākrita-vyākarana*, Durgāchārya's *Shaḍbhāshā-rūpa-mālikā*, Seshakrishna's *Prākrita-chandrikā*, Appayadīkshita's *Prākrita-mani-dīpa*, the *Prākrita-lakshaṇa* ascribed to Pāṇini, the *Shaḍbhāshā-mañjarī*, the *Shaḍbhāshā-vichāra*, the *Shaḍbhāshā-suvantādarśa*, etc. Some of the works on Prakrit grammar are lost

Excepting certain sections of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*[1], the text of which is extremely corrupt and useless for practical purposes, the earliest extant Prakrit grammar is the PP All other extant works were written when Prakrit was already a dead language. These later authors had no doubt traditions to help them ; but the real authorities for their rules, so far as they added to the rules of old grammarians (many of whose works are lost), were Prakrit works (then surviving) of authors who were long since dead They formed their rules by an analysis of the forms contained in these works The value of the rules of the later grammarians therefore depended largely on the Ms material at their disposal, and it is not impossible that in some cases at least they have been misled by wrong readings in the Mss [2] As the earliest Prakrit grammar, probably written in a period when Prakrit was still a living language, the PP has a value of its own That it cannot explain all the peculiarities of the Prakrit language used in inscriptions (belonging to the period ranging from the 3rd century B C to the 4th century A D) or in classical Sanskrit dramas (whose Mss are much influenced by the traditions established by later Prakrit grammarians) seems to be due to the facts that the provincial peculiarities of Inscriptional Prakrit were possibly outside its scope and that in point of date the PP. stands midway between the two classes of literature[3].

1 In its present form, however, the NS which mentions Mahārāshtra cannot be earlier than the 5th-6th century A.D. Reference to the dramatic Prakrits, the Māgadhī, Avantī, Prāchyā, Saurasenī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Bāhlikī and Dākshinātyā as *bhāshā*, and the Śākārī, Ābhīrī, Chāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Drāmilī and Āndhrī as *vibhāshā* suggests a considerably later date

2 Hemachandra's *hitapaka* (IV. 310, *infra*, X, notes) seems to be a mistake for *hitayaka* See *infra*, p 97.

3 It must be admitted that some inscriptional forms can be explained by a later grammar, but not by the *PP*, *e g*, the form *tūṭhika* (Pallava); cf. Hem , I. 104 The conjuncts used in Aśokan records as well as in the Kharoshṭhī ins cannot be explained by the *PP* , but for some of them, cf. Hem., *infra*, XI, notes. The Prakrit grammars were mainly written for the dramatic Prakrits.

It is interesting to note that the earliest Prakrit grammar is only the first nine chapters of the extant PP, which have been commented on by Kātyāyana[1] Vararuchi and Kātyāyana therefore recognised only one standard form of the literary Prakrit language and ignored the regional or tribal peculiarities as such. This standard Prakrit, described by later grammarians as the Mahārāshtrī variety of Prakrit speech, seems to have been a sort of *Lingua Franca* more or less intelligible to the stage-audience in different parts of India Chapters X-XI of the PP, dealing respectively with the Paiśāchī and Māgadhī dialects, were added to the original work either by Bhāmaha himself or by an unknown grammarian who lived between Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha Chapter XII of the PP which describes the Śaurasenī Prakrit has not been commented on even by Bhāmaha and is thus a still later interpolation, although the existence of Śaurasenī is recognised by the author of ch X, 2 and ch XI, 2 But these three supplementary chapters were probably added to the PP. before the time of Hemachandra who in his grammar deals not only with Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Paisāchī and Chūlikā Paiśāchī, but also with Apabhramśa But the conventional number of the varieties may have been actually higher about this time[2] The *Sāhitya-darpana* (14th century) refers to the Śaurasenī, Mahārāshtrī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Prāchyā, Āvantikā, Dākshinātyā, Śākārī, Vālhīkī, Drāviḍī, Ābhīrī and Chāṇḍālī varieties of the Prakrit language, the *Prākrita-lankeśvara* enumerates Udīchī, Mahārāshṭrī, Māgadhī, Miśr-Ardha-Māgadhī, Śākābhīrī, Śrāvastī, Drāviḍī, Auḍrīyā, Pāśchātyā, Prāchyā, Vāhlīkā, Rantikā, Dākshinātyā, Paiśāchī, Āvantī and Śaurasenī, while the *Prākrita-chandrikā*, refers not only to Mahārāshṭrī, Āvantī, Śaurasenī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Vāhlīkī, Māgadhī, Dākshinātyajā and Apabhramśa, but also to the 27 varieties of Apabhramśa, such as Vrāchaḍa, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Āvantya, Pāñchāla, Ṭākka, Mālava, Kaikaya, Gauḍa, Auḍra, Daiva (Haiva, Haimavata?), Pāśchātya, Pāṇḍya, Kauntala, Saimhala, Kālinga, Prāchya, Kārnāṭa, Kāñcha, Drāviḍa, Gaurjara, Ābhīra, Madhyadeśīya and Vaiḍāla Lakshmīdhara again says that the Paiśāchī language was spoken in the Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlīka, Sahya, Nepāla, Kauntala, Sudeśa, Bhota, Gāndhāra, Haiva (Haimavata?) and Kannojana (Kamboja or Kanauj?) countries It will be seen that this regional or tribal classification is not quite satisfactory The grammarians who lived after Vararuchi and Kātyāyana had no doubt to recognise the growing provincial or dialectic influence on Prakrit Mss and on the pronunciation of Prakrit words and conventional traditions (not always quite scientific) were gradually taking shape As Prakrit was then a dead language, it is no wonder that the authors are often mutually inconsistent They are sometimes unable to

1 See *infra*, p 54

2 Cf the account given by Purushottama, a contemporary of Hemachandra, in the Appendix, pp 106 ff Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, I 32-38, which probably belongs to the 7th century A D, characterises Apabhramśa as the speech of the cowherds and others, and mentions it separately from Prākṛita of which Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and "similar others" are referred to. Daṇḍin mentions Paiśāchī as the *bhūta-bhāshā* (language of the goblins).

demonstrate the actual difference between two dialects and vaguely characterise them as having *sūkshma-bheda*. It is apparent that some late writers referred to the early stages of the modern Indian languages (including Dravidian languages more or less influenced by Indo-Aryan) as Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa But primarily the regional or tribal classification seems to have been based only on some important (but not in all cases compulsory) peculiarities of a dialect A study of the inscriptions and the modern dialects which can both be classified regionally and in many cases also tribally shows that the classification favoured by grammarians is not quite scientific and satisfactory. It is to be noted that inscriptions and dialects belonging to Mahārāshtra, Magadha and Śūrasena have characteristics other than those of the so-called Mahārāshṭrī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī Prakrits Note, *e g*, the rule regarding the use of *n* for *ṇ*. As regards the dubious nature of some grammatical traditions, we may also point to the *ya-śruti* It is said that when a consonant is elided, Mahārāshtrī usually retains the inherent *a*, but Ardha-Māgadhī makes it *ya* This rule is repudiated not only by modern Marāthī, but also by inscriptions from the Mahārāshtra area, cf *nāga*=*nāya* (Nanaghat), *rājā*=*rāyā* (Nanaghat, Basim), etc[1] As regards the Māgadhī substitution of *r* by *l*, it has been rightly pointed out that "the mordern dialects of Bihār and Bengal have not replaced every *r* with an *l* Perhaps this rule for dramatic Māgadhī is conventional exaggeration of a marked tendency of the Eastern dialects." Some of the linguistic peculiarities attributed to the Late or Apabhraṁśa period or even to later date are again actually noticed in very old inscriptions, *e. g. paṁdarasa* for *pañchadaśa* in the Hathigumphā inscription (about the end of the 1st cent B C), cf. Pāli *pannarasa*, Prakrit *pannarasa*, *pannaraha*, Hindī *pandrah* (**pandaraha*) Cf also the inscriptional forms *tera*, *choda*, *athāra* (Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa, 3rd cent A D), etc

It is possible to get together an enormous number of grammatical forms from the Prakrit inscriptions, to discover a system under which they can be arranged and to write a grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit after European or the orthodox Indian model But the aim of the author of the present work is not so much to write a grammar of the Inscriptional Prakrit as to draw the attention of students to a comparative study of the Prakrit language found in inscriptions, literary works and grammars It is hoped that the *sūtras* of the *PP* with comments on their relations with other forms of Prakrit

1 Hem, I, 180 allows *ya-śruti* for Mahārāshtrī only when the preceding vowel is *a* For *ya-śruti* in Aśokan records, cf *bhikhupāye*, *nilathiya*, etc. Pāli *khāyita*, etc. The change of *j* to *y* is a Māgadhī characteristic (*infra*, XI, 4)

speech would serve this purpose fairly satisfactorily. An intelligent student would be able moreover to frame his own rules for a skeleton grammar of the language of the selected Prakrit records with the help of the word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* supplied with all of them But the following facts would suggest that a comprehensive grammar of inscriptional Prakrit may prove rather complex to persons for whom this book is actually intended The *Selection* represents only a fragment of the large number of Prakrit inscriptions so far discovered and does not offer all the peculiarities of Inscriptional Prakrit There are in many cases mistakes (apparent or doubtful) due to the scribe or the engraver In many inscriptions the language is more or less influenced by Sanskrit Some of the dialects represented (e g , the language of the Central Asian documents) can only be treated separately In a large number of records whose preservation is not exceptionally satisfactory , the vowel-marks and the *anusvāra* are doubtful Early epigraphic records have usually avoided the use of double consonants and sometimes also of the *anusvāra* and of conjuncts, though all of them were apparently pronounced in reading out the epigraphs Inscriptions written in the Kharoshthī script have usually no ā, ī, ū, etc, which were no doubt pronounced They moreover freely modify the sound of a consonant by a sign resembling the subscript r A noteworthy feature of the inscriptional Prakrit is the abundant use of the *svārthika ka* and the Dravidic name-suffixes *amnaka* and *amnikā* with occasional use of the *sāpeksha* and *mayūra-vyamsaka samāsas* It is also to be borne in mind that the inscriptions are earlier than the *PP* Elision of consonants is therefore not universal, but conjugational forms of various tenses, etc., are used more frequently. Transformation of the sonant into surd and of the surd into sonant in some districts where sometimes the aspirates lose their aspiration (due to Dravidian or Iranian influence) and non-aspirates are aspirated is also noticed Cf *infra*, X-XI, notes

In these pages we have followed the text of Bhāmaha s *Manoramā* as given in the *PP*, edited by E B Cowell (London, 1868) and that of Kātyāyana's *Prākrita-mañjarī* as given in the *PP* edited by B K Chatterjee (Calcutta, 1914) Examples have been quoted from other works, especially Pāli grammar and the Prakrit grammar of Hemachandra (Bomb Sans Pr Ser , No XL, 1936, ed R Pischel, Halle, 1877) Authors later than the 12th century A D have however been only occassionally quoted, that is to say, their treatment of a particular dialect has not been elaborately followed As for instance, our account of Paiśāchī, is based on Vararuchi and Hemachandra and late writers like Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmaśarmā have been practically ignored No attempt has been made to make a *gaṇa* exhaustive, as the authorities differ widely on this

point and as variations to a rule are found in literature and inscriptions It may be noted that in referring to inscriptional words we have sometimes used double consonants instead of the single consonant of the original and have also ignored the sign resembling subscript *r* used to modify the sound of a consonant.

वररुचि-कृतः प्राकृत-प्रकाशः

प्रथम· परिच्छेद· ।—अजविधि· ॥

Chapter I—The Vowels.

Chapters I—IX describe the standard literary Prakrit which was known to later writers as the Mahārāshṭrī variety of Prakrit This name refers to Mahārāshtra, the modern Marāthā country The name Mahārāshtra is however not much earlier than the 5th-6th century A.D Mahārāshṭrī was considered to be the Prakrit *par excellence* It is supposed to have represented the Deccan, i e the land to the south of the Madhyadeśa which is said to have been represented by the Sauraseni Prakrit By convention, Mahārāshtrī is the language of poetry and Śauraseni that of prose In dramas, ladies of rank converse in Śauraseni, but use Mahārāshtrī in songs

आदेरतः ॥१॥ "As regards the first *a* in a word." This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (i e, one having authority to be implied in succeeding *Sūtras*) of which "the first" applies to all *Sūtras* of the chapter excepting S. 14 and 23, while "as regards *a*" only to *Sūtras* 2-9.

आ समृद्ध्यादिषु वा ॥२॥ In the words *samriddhi*, etc, *ā* is optionally used for the first *a* The *samriddhyādi-gana* is an *ākriti-gana*, i e a class of words that is to be determined by observing the forms used in standard works. समृद्धि=समिद्धी, सामिद्धी ; प्रकट=पअडं, पाअडं ; प्रसुप्त=पसुत्तं, पासुत्तं ; प्रसिद्धि= पसिद्धी ; पासिद्धी ; etc For rules regarding the change of single consonants and conjuncts, see *infra*, II-IV

इद् ईषत्-पक्व-स्वप्न-वेतस-व्यजन-मृदङ्गाङ्गारेषु ॥३॥ In the seven words *vetasa*, etc, *i* is substituted for the first *a*—optionally according to K, but compulsorily according to Bh ईषत्=ईस, इसि , पक्व=पक्कं, पिक्कं ; स्वप्न=सिविणो, सविणो ; वेतस= वेडिसो, वेडसो (II. 8) ; व्यजन=विअणो, वअणो ; मृदङ्ग=मुइंगो, मुअंगो ; अङ्गार=इङ्गालो, अङ्गालो ॥ Hem ललाट=णिडालं, णडालं ॥ Ins. मनाक्=मिन ; मध्यम=मझिम ; सुदर्शन= सुदिसना ; राजाज्ञप्त=राजाणितो, ; एतस्य=एतिस ; दिवस=दिविसं ; बाढ=बाढि ; तस्य=

विंस ॥ Also त्रिंशतमके [=त्रिंशततमके]=तिंशतिमए ; चतुर्दशी=चतुदिसि ; अष्ट=अष्टि, अद्य=अजि ॥ व्य of व्यजन actually belongs to the section on conjuncts (ch. III) Cf. *infra*, III, 2, notes

लोपोऽरण्ये ॥४॥ In the word *aranya*, the first *a* is elided. अरण्य=रण्णं ॥ See *infra*, S 17(a) Cf. Ins. अपि=पि, वि ; अहम्=अहकं=हकं ; अधस्तात्=हेट्ठ ॥ Also इति=ति, इदानीं=दाणि ; इव, एव=व, उपवसथ=पोसथ ; उदक=दग ; उपान्ते=वंति ; एनम्=णं ॥ Hem अलाबु, ०बू=लाउ, लाऊ ॥ Ins खलु=खु(*ख्लु), खो shows omissions of the unaccented vowel Cf also चु(=च तु=*चउ; cf S 9) ॥

ए शय्यादिषु ॥५॥ In the words *śayyā*, etc, *e* is sustituted for the first *a* शय्या=सेज्जा, सौन्दर्य=सुन्देरं ; त्रयोदश=तेरह ; उत्कर=उक्केरो ; आश्चर्य=अच्छेरं ; पर्यन्त=पेरन्तं ; वल्लि=वेल्ली ॥ Ins. मर्यादा=मेजाता ; अन्तःपुर=अतेउर (Pāli अन्तेपुर ; Hem. अन्देउर), निश्चय=निश्चेय ॥ Note that the substitution of *a* by *u* has been ignored Cf Ins उदुपान, मोख्यमुत, प्रचु, भगवतु ; तुतो, सवतु, आपुथो, विवदु ; रजधमु ; घड़ु ; अवगमुक, उचवुच ॥ Hem प्रथम=पुढुमं, पुढमं, पढुम, खण्डित=खुण्डिओ, खण्डिओ ॥ Cf. also नमस्कार=नमोक्कारो, परस्पर=परोप्परं ॥ Note that in Sanskrit *u* and *i* are shorter forms of *o* and *e* respectively, but the vowel preceding a conjunct is always short in Prakrit.

ओ वदरे देन ॥६॥ In the word *vadara*, the first *a*, together with *d* and its inherent vowel, becomes *o* वदर=बोरं ॥

लवण-नवमल्लिकयो र्वेन ॥७॥ Var lect. ०नवमालिक० ॥ In the words *lavana* and *navamallikā* (or *navamālikā*) the first *a*, together with *v* and its vowel, becomes *o* लोणं ; णोमल्लिआ (or णोमालिआ) ॥ Cf the feature called *samprasāraṇa* (*infra*, notes)

मयूर-मयूखयोर्व्वा वा ॥८॥ In the two words, *mayūra* and *mayūkha*, the first *a* together with the syllable *yū* becomes *o* optionally मयूर=मोरो, मऊरो ; मयूख=मोहो, मऊहो ॥ Ins मजूर (Aśokan) ॥

चतुर्थी-चतुर्दश्योस्तुना ॥९॥ In the two words, *chaturthī* and *chaturdaśī*, the first *a* together with the syllable *tu* becomes *o* optionally. चतुर्थी=चोत्थी, चउत्थी ; चतुर्दशी=चोद्दही, चउद्दही ॥ Ins चवुथ, चतुदिसि ॥

अद् आतो यथादिषु ॥१०॥ In the words *yathā*, etc, *a* is optionally substituted for *ā* यथा=जह, जहा ; तथा=तह, तहा ; प्रस्तार=पत्थरो, पत्थारो ; प्राकृत=

पउअं, पाउअं ; तालवृन्तक=तलवेण्टअं, तालवेण्टअं ; उत्खात=उक्खअं, उक्खाअं · चामर= चमरं, चामरं ; प्रहार=पहरो, पहारो ; चाटु=चडु, चाडु ; दावाग्नि=दवग्गी, दावग्गी ; खादित=खइअं, खाइअं ; संस्थापित=संठविअं, संठाविअं , हालिक=हलिओ, हालिओ ॥

इत् सदादिषु ॥११॥ In the words *sadā*, etc , *i* is optionally substituted for *ā*. सदा=सइ, सआ ; तदा=तइ, तआ ; यदा=जइ, जआ (cf *infra*, II, 2) ॥ Cf Ins करमिन ; विपटिपादयमीन ॥ Also नमकेरो अहुनो, अहोनो ॥ Hem मात्र=मेत्त आसारो, ऊसारो ; द्वार=देरं ॥

इत एत् पिण्ड-समेषु ॥१२॥ In words like *piṇḍa* (i e , when *i* is followed by a conjunct, according to Bh), *e* (short *e*) is optionally substituted for *i* पिण्ड= पेण्डं, पिण्डं , निद्रा=णेद्दा, णिद्दा , विष्णु=वेण्हु, विण्हु ॥ Cf S 5, note, S. 19, Ins इष्ट= यिठो, एव=येव, etc are due to the rare feature अ=य ॥ For e becoming *i*, cf. *infra*, S. 34.

अत् पथि-हरिद्रा-पृथिवीषु ॥१३॥ In the three words, *pathin*, etc , *a* is substituted for *i* पथिन्=पहो; हरिद्रा=हलद्दा (Hem हलद्दी, हलद्दा, हलिद्दी, हलिद्दा; cf *infra*, II 30, V.24) ; पृथिवी=पुहवी (Hem पुहई, पुढवी) ॥ Hem I,88 Cf *infra*, S 19, note

इतेस्तः पदादेः ॥१४॥ In the word *iti*, when at the beginning of a sentence, *a* is substituted for the *i* which follows the *t* (i e *iti* becomes *ia*, cf II, 2)— optionally according to Bh इति विकसन्त· चिरम्=इअ विअसन्तीअ चिरं ॥ It is suggested that the rule does not apply to such cases as प्रियः इति=पिओत्ति ॥ K. reads आदेः (=वाक्यादेः) instead of पदादेः ॥ Hem., I, 91.

उद् इक्षु-वृश्चिकयोः ॥१५॥ In the two words, *ikshu* and *vriśchika*, *u* is substituted for *i* इक्षु=उच्छू ; वृश्चिक=विच्छुओ (or विञ्छुओ) ॥ Hem. जहुट्ठिलो, जहिट्ठिलो ॥ Cf *infra*, S 39, notes

ओ च द्विधाकृञः ॥१६॥ *O* (as also *u*) is substituted in the word *dvidhā* when it is used with the root *kri*. द्विधाकृत=दोहाइअं, दुहाइअं ; द्विधाक्रियते=दोहाइज्जइ, दुहाइज्जइ (VII, 8) ॥

ईत् सिंह-जिह्वयोश्च ॥१७॥ In the two words , *simha* and *jihvā*, *ī* is substituted for *i* जिह्वा=जीहा ; सिंह=सीहो ॥ Notes (1) A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short मार्ग=मग्गो ॥ K has दीर्घस्य ह्रस्वता लिखा संयुक्तोत्तरता यदि (on *PP*, IV, 1), cf Hem ह्रस्वः संयोगे ॥१।८४॥ (2) When the length of the vowel is retained, the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision

ईश्वर=इस्सर, ईसर ॥ (3) Sometimes a short vowel followed by a conjunct becomes long and the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision. जिह्वा=जीहा . विश्वस्त=वीसत्थ ; विश्रम्भ=वीसम्भ । Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उसभदात ; वर्ष=वास ; आगत्य=आगाच ; चिकित्सा=चिकीछा ; इन्द्र=ईद ; सप्तम=सातम ; रज्जुक=राजूक ॥ K has हृस्वस्यापि क्वचिद्दीर्घः । (4) When the *anusvāra* is elided, it leaves a short vowel lengthened सिंह=सीह ॥ Ins सिंहल=सीहल ; सङ्गवीसति , वीस ; वंश=वास ॥ This is due to the fact that *anusvāra* was considered equal to a nasal consonant Hem. also सिंघो , संघारो , सिंहदत्तो ॥etc (5) In some cases the vowel instead of being lengthened takes an *anusvāra* (cf *infra*, III, 56, IV, 16) अश्रु=अंसु ॥

इवे लोपः ॥१७ क ॥ The *i* in *iva* is always elided. राजा इव=राआव ॥ This Sūtra is omitted by Bh

इदु ईतः पानीयादिषु ॥१८॥ In the words *pānīya*, etc , *i* is substituted for the first *ī*. पानीय=पाणिअ ; अलीक=अलिअं ; तदानीं=तआणिं , करीष=करिसो , तृतीय=तइअं ; द्वितीय=दुइअं ; गभीर=गहिरं ॥ Ins. दुतिय, विंतिय ॥ Cf इदानीं= Śauraseni दाणिं=Ins दानि (Nasik)॥

एत् नीडापीड-कीदृशेदृशेषु ॥१९॥ In the four words, *nīḍa*, etc , *e* is substituted for *ī* नीड=णेड्डं (or णेडं) , आपीड=आमेलो (II, 16), कीदृश=केरिसो ; ईदृश= एरिसो (Aśokan Ins एदिस, हेदिस, हेडिस , cf S 18, note) ॥ Cf Hem हरीतकी= हरडई ॥ Cf *infra*, S. 39, note

उत ओत् तुण्ड-रूपेषु ॥२०॥ In the words *tuṇḍa*, etc , *o* (short *o* before a conjunct) is substituted for *u* (i e *u* followed by a conjunct, according to Bh) तुण्ड=तोण्डं , मुक्ता=मोत्ता ; पुष्कर=पोक्खरो , पुस्तक=पोत्थओ , मुण्ड=मोण्डं ॥ Ins पोराणा ; मोखिय ; खो(=*ख्लु=खलु) ॥ शूर्पारक=शोर्पारग ॥ C Asian वढो ; अतिवढो ; अहोनो , स्फुर=खोर ॥ Aśokan उक्त=वुत्त is due to the early trait अ=व (cf S 12, note) ॥ Hem. स्थूल=थोरं , मूल्य=मोल्लं ॥

उलूखले ल्वा वा ॥२१॥ In the word, *ulūkhala*, *u* with the syllable *lū* becomes *o* optionally उलूखल=ओक्खल (Bh), ओहलं (K), उलूहलं ॥

अन् मुकुटादिषु ॥२२॥ In the words *mukuṭa*, etc , *a* is substituted for the first *u* मुकुट=मउडं ; मुकुल=मउलं ; गुरु[क]=गरुअं , गुर्वी=गरुई ; युधिष्ठिर=जहिट्ठिलो ; उपरि=अवरि ॥

इत् पुरुषे रोः ॥२३॥ In the word *purusha*, *i* is substituted for the *u* following *r*. पुरुष=पुरिसो ॥

उद् ऊतो मधूके ॥२४॥ In the word *madhūka*, *u* is substituted for *ū*. मधूक=महुअं ॥ *Infra*, II, 27

अद् दुकूले वा लस्य द्वित्वम् ॥२५॥ In the word *dukūla*, *a* is optionall substituted (with the doubling of *l*) for *ū*. दुकूल=दुअल्लं, दुऊलं ॥ *Infra*, II, 2

एन् नूपुरे ॥२६॥ In the word *nūpura*, *e* is substituted for *ū* नूपुरं=णेउरं ।

ऋतोऽत् ॥२७॥ *A* is substituted for the first *ri* (but only when it is joined to a consonant) तृण=तणं, घृणा=घणा ; मृत=मअं ; वृद्धो=वद्धो ; वृषभ=वसहो ; मृदु=मउ ; कृष्णा=कण्हो ॥ The following Sūtras suggest the substitutes *i*, *u*, *ri* and *ru* for *ri* Ins वृत्ताः=वछा ; दृढ=द्रिढ ; मृग=मृ ग , व्यापृत=वियप्रट, etc indicate an earlier stage when the elision of the *r* inherent in *ri* was only optional Metathesis in respect of this *r* is sometimes noticed in the Kharoshthī records of Aśoka. कृतज्ञता=किट्रनत ; वृद्ध=वुध्र (cf धर्म=ध्रम ; प्रियदर्शी=प्रियद्रशि) ॥

इद् ऋष्यादिषु ॥२८॥ In the words *rishi*, etc , *i* is substituted for *ri*· ऋषि=इसी ; दृष्टि=दिट्ठि ; सृष्टि=सिट्ठि ; शृङ्गार=सिङ्गारो ; मृगाङ्क=मिअङ्को ; भृङ्ग=भिङ्गो ; हृदय=हिअअं ; वृश्चिक=विंछुओ ; शृगाल=सिआलो ; कृषि=किसी ॥ etc Ins रिसि (Nasik) ॥

उद् ऋत्वादिषु ॥२९॥ In the words *ritu*, etc , *u* is substituted for *ri*. ऋतु=उदू (II, 7) ; मृणाल=मुणालो ; पृथिवी=पुहवी ॥ etc Ins ऋषभदत्त=उसभदात (Hem. उसहो, वसहो) ; पढवि (cf. S 13, note) ॥

अयुक्तस्य रिः ॥३०॥ The syllable *ri* is substituted for *ri* when initial and not joined to a consonant. ऋण=रिणं ; ऋद्ध=रिद्धो ॥

क्वचिद् युक्तस्यापि ॥३१॥ The syllable *ri* is sometimes substituted for *ri* even when it is joined to a consonant ईदृश=एरिसो ; सदृश=सरिसो ; तादृश=तारिसो ; कीदृश=केरिस ॥ etc

वृक्षे वेन रुर्वा ॥३२॥ In the word *vriksha*, the syllable *ru* is substituted for *ri* together with *v*. वृक्ष=रुक्खो ॥ According to Bh , *ru* is not substituted in the alternative. वृक्ष=वच्छो ॥ Cf. Ins and Pāli भृगुकच्छ=भरुकच्छ ॥

ऌतः क्लृप्त इलिः ॥३३॥ In the word *klipta*, *ili* is substituted for *li*. क्लृप्त=किलित्तं ॥ The above rules (S 27-30) show that *ṛi* and *ḷi* are not used in Prakrit.

एत इद् वेदना-देवरयोः ॥३४॥ In the words *vedanā* and *devara*, *i* is optionally substituted for *e*. Cf. S 5, note. वेदना=विअना, वेअना ; देवर=दिअरो, देअरो ॥ Ins. एका=इका ; एकैक=इक्कीक ; केनमित=किनमु ; काले=कालि ; कुबेरक=गुपिरको ; एतेन= एतिना ॥ Cf also Aśokan एवम्=हेवं ; एतादृश=हेदिस , एवमेव=हेमेव (see S. 11, note) ॥

ऐत एत् ॥३५॥ *E* is substituted for the first *ai* शैल=सेलो ; कैलास=केलासो ; शैवल=सेवलं ॥ *Au* and *ai* are not used in Prakrit. Aśokan स्थविर=थैर, यशोदृश= सैडस, समचर्य=समचैर indicate the pronunciation थइर, etc Hem also कइलासो ॥

दैत्यादिष्वइ ॥३६॥ In the words *daitya*, etc , *aï* is substituted for the dipthong *ai* दैत्य=दइच्चो ; चैत्र=चइत्तो ; भैरव=भइरव ; वैशाख=वइसाहो ; चैत्य=चइत्त' ॥ Ins. वैराग (Nasik), चैतिय ॥ ऐ=अइ and औ=अउ (*infra*, S 42) are said to be a Mahārāshṭri characteristic, not found in Saurasenī and Māgadhī.

दैवे वा ॥३७॥ In the word *daiva*, *aï* is optionally substituted for the dipthong *ai*. दैव=दइव, देव्व (III, 52) Hem also gives दइव्वं ॥

इत् सैन्धवे ॥३८॥ In the word *saindhava*, *i* is substituted for *ai*. सैन्धव =सिन्धवं ॥ Hem शनैश्चर=सणिच्छरो , सैन्य=सैन्न, सिन्नं ॥ Pāli इस्सरियं ॥

ईद् धैर्ये ॥३९॥ In the word *dhairya*, *ī* is substituted for *ai* धैर्य=धीरं (III, 13 and 31) ॥ Ins एकैक=इकीक, एकीक ॥ Ins तैर्थिक=तूथिक ; but cf Hem तीर्थ =सूहं, तित्थं , हीन=हूण ; विहीन=विहूण ॥

ओतोऽद् वा प्रकोष्ठे कस्य वः ॥४०॥ In the word *prakoshṭha*, *a* is optionally substituted for *o*, and, when this substitution takes place, *k* becomes *v*. प्रकोष्ठ=पवट्ठो, पकोट्ठो ॥ Note—Medial *o* becomes *u* usually before a conjunct Ins. पणुसत्त , गोणुसगो ; आमोयान=आनुया(ग्या)न ; मनोयान=नुयान (*supra*, S 17, [illegible]) ॥ Also एकुनवीस ॥

औत ओत् ॥४१॥ *O* is substituted for the first *au*. [illegible] , [illegible] ॥ Ins कोसुत, कोसुत ॥

पौरादिष्वउ ॥४२॥ In the words *paura*, etc., [illegible] the dipthong *au* पौर=पउरो ; कौरव=कउरवो ; पौरुष=पउरसं ॥ [illegible] Ins [illegible] (Nasik) ॥ [illegible] may be both [illegible] and [illegible] ॥

आच्च गौरवे ॥४३॥ In the word *gaurava*, *ā* (as also *au*) is substituted for *au*. गौरव=गारवं, गउरवं ॥ Ins. पौलिन्द=पारिंद (II, 80, note) ॥

उत् सौन्दर्यादिषु ॥४४॥ In the words *saundarya*, etc., *u* (usually followed by a conjunct) is substituted for *au* सौन्दर्य=सुन्देरं ; शौंड=सुंडो ; दौवारिक=दुव्वारिओ ॥ Ins गौल्मिक=गुम्मिक ; दौसाय=दुतियाय ॥

NOTES

Summary Prakrit has all the vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of ऋ, ॠ, ऌ, ॡ, ऐ and औ ॥ ए and ओ are long vowels in Sanskrit; but they are either long or short in Prakrit They are always short before conjuncts एक्क ; तेल्ल , जोव्वण , भुमिए ज्जेव्व ; इदो ज्जेव्व ॥ ऋ is usually changed to रि, अ, इ or उ ॥ रिण, केरिस, तण, दिट्ठि, पुहवी ॥ ऐ becomes ए, अइ, इ or ई ॥ केलास, दइच्च, सिन्धव, धीर ॥ औ becomes ओ, अउ or उ ॥ कोमुई, पउर, सुन्देर ॥ उ becomes ओ and ओ becomes उ. पोत्थओ, सोणुत्तरो ॥ एँ becomes इ;इ, ईं become ए, and ए becomes इ. सेन्दूर, ओेट्ठ, इक्वीक ॥ A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short, but the conjunct becomes a single consonant, if the length of the vowel is retained मग्गो, ईसर ॥ When a conjunct becomes a single consonant, the preceding short vowel is lengthened जीहा ॥ Elision of *anusvāra* leaves the preceding short vowel lengthened. सीह ॥ It should be noted that most of the rules of Prakrit grammar are optional, as variations are noticed in other sources. The *ganas* are hardly exhaustive Some interesting features of Inscriptional Prakrit are not noticed by grammarians.

Phonetic changes Cf *PP*, chapters I-IV, especially ch III which deals with conjuncts Changes in a language generally take place in the following ways. The examples are quoted from Pāli (1) **Assimilation** When two different consonantal sounds meet and cannot be easily pronounced, one of them is modified to facilitate pronunciation (*e g* धर्म=धम्म). Sometimes both the sounds are modified (*e.g.* त्याग=चाग). In many cases (Progressive As) the first letter of a conjunct is doubled (*e g* शुक्र=सुत्त), but in others (Regressive As.) the second letter (*e g* , प्राप्नोति=पप्पोति), (2) **Dissimilation** When there is a recurrence of the same sound or sounds formed in the same way, one of them is changed into a dissimilar sound. लाङ्गल=नङ्गल ; पिपीलिका=किपीलिका ; ललाट=नलाट ॥

(3) **Analogy.** Sometimes words are made on the analogy of other words सुवच=सुव्वचो, cf दुर्वच=दुव्वचो ; कायेन=कायसा, cf मनसा ॥ (4) **Compensation** When a consonant in a word is dropped, one of the vowels is sometimes lengthened or another consonant is added to compensate the loss of accent अर्हत्=अरहा ; प्रतिकूल=पटिक्कूल , परिषत्=परिसा ॥ (5) **Metathesis** (वर्णविपर्यय, स्थितिपरिवृत्ति). Sometimes the arrangement of letters in a word is altered मशक=मकस ; ह्रद=रहद (Pr दह) , रश्मि=रसि ॥ (6) **Anaptyxsis or Vowel-augmentation** (विकर्ष, विप्रकर्ष, स्वरभक्ति). To separate the consonantal sounds in a compound consonant (*e g* र्ह, र्य), sometimes a vowel is inserted. अर्हत्=अरहा महार्ह=महारह , भार्या=भरिया , आर्य=अरिय ॥(7)Often a letter or a group of letters is substituted by another letter or group of letters (8) The change of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* (essentially of *ya* to *i* and *va* to *u*) is called *Samprasārana.* भवति=होति ॥ (9) Sometimes in Prakrit आर्य=अरिय=अयिर=अइर=ऐर=एर ॥ This metathetic feature is called *Epenthesis* which also indicates consonant-augmentation

Vowel changes in Pali. Pāli is an ancient literary Prakrit and most of the early Pāli works belong to the same age as the inscriptions Pāli-Prakrit and epigraphic Prakrit have therefore many phonetic peculiarities in common Vowel changes in Pāli are indicated below for easy reference and comparison ऋ=अ । मृत=मत , घृत=घत ; कृषि=कसि , कृपण=कपण ॥ ऋ=इ । ऋषि=इसि , ऋण=इण , तृण=तिण ॥ ऋ=उ । ऋतु=उतु , मृदु=मुदु , वृषभ=उसभ ॥ ऋ=ए । गृह=गेह ॥ ऋ=र, रु । वृक्ष=रुक्ख ; बृहत्=ब्रहा ॥ ऐ=इ । ऐश्वर्य=इस्सरिय ॥ ऐ=ए । मैत्री=मेत्ती ॥ औ=उ । औत्सुक्य=उस्सुक्कं ॥ औ=ओ । औषध=ओसध ॥ Long vowels are universally shortened before conjuncts and the *niggahīta* (*anusvāra*) कार्य=कज्ज , खाद्य=खज्ज लता=लतं ॥ अ=ए । अत्र=एत्थ ; अन्त पुर = अन्तेपुर , फल्गु = फेग्गु शय्या = सेय्या ॥ अ = इ । तमिस्रा = तिमिस्सा , कस्य = किस्स ॥ अ = उ । पर्जन्य = पज्जुन्न , सद्य = सज्जु , उन्मज्जति = उम्मुज्जति ॥ अ = ओ । सम्मर्ष = सम्मोस ॥ आ=ए । प्रातीहार = पाटिहेर ॥ इ = अ । पृथिवी = पठवी , गृहिणी = घरणी ॥ इ = ए । विहिंसा = विहेसा ; विश्वभू = वेस्सभू ॥ इ = उ । गैरिक = गेरुक ॥ ई=अ । कौसीद्य = कोसज्ज ॥ ई = आ । तिरश्चीन=तिरच्चान ॥ ई=ए । क्रीडा=खेला ॥ ई=उ । ष्ठीव्=ठुभ ॥ उ=अ । गुरु=गरु , स्फुरति=फरति ॥ उ=इ । From क्षु, खिपति ॥ उ=ओ (usually before conjuncts) । उल्का=ओक्का , पुस्तक=पोत्थक ॥ ऊ=आ । भ्रूकुटि=भाकुटि ॥ ऊ=इ, ई । भूयः=भिय्यो,

मीयो (cf. Ins मुइ) ॥ ऊ=ओ । ऊर्ज=ओज ॥ ए=अ । म्लेच्छ=मिलक्ख ॥ ए=आ । केयूर=कायूर ॥ ए=इ (usually before conjuncts) । प्रतिवेश्मक=पडिविस्सक , उद्वेलापित= उव्विलापित ॥ ए=ओ । अतिप्रगे=अतिप्पगो ॥ ओ=उ । ज्योत्स्ना=जुण्हा ; द्रोह=दुह ॥

द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।—अयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

Chapter II—Single Consonants.

अयुक्तस्यानादौ ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*. I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules apply to single and non-initial consonants.

क-ग-च-ज-त-द-प-य-वां प्रायो लोपः ॥२॥ The nine consonants *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *y* and *v* (or *b*, cf Hem वो वः १।२३७ ; Ins दुवाडस, वे, etc) when single and non-initial are usually elided. मुकुल=मउलो ; नकुल=णउलं ; काक=काओ ; सागर=साअरो , नगर=णअरं . वचन=वअणं , सूची=सूई ; गज=गओ ; रजत=रअदं ; कृत=कअं , गदा=गआ ; मद=मओ ; कपि=कई , विपुल=विउलं ; नयन=णअणं ; जीव=जीअं ; दिवस=दिअहो ॥ There is no elision where the euphony is satisfied. प्रियगमन=पिअगमणं ; सचाप=सचावं ; अपजल=अवजलं ; अयशः=अजसो ; सबहुमान= सबहुमानं ॥ Why "single"? शक्र=सक्को ; मार्ग=मग्गो ॥ Why "non-initial"? कमल= कमलं ; गन्ध=गन्धो ॥ S 7 and 20 (also 24 and 26, cf XII, 3) provide for the change of surds into sonants This characteristic is more frequent in inscriptions Cf. Ins निरथिय ; हिदलोग ; पललोग ; परितिदिसु ; किछि ; अजला , अठभागिय ; अवलपेधु ; थुब ; लिबि ; मजूर ; कंबोय ; सोचये, सोचवे ; चावुदस, चोदस ; अतपतिये ; धमरइए ; कलिंय ; कलिंग , उवासग ; उआसिअ ; आगत=अयदे ; नायनिका ; किछि ; संकुजमछे , अयरिय , पिसाजोपदक ; छिनिद , अविय , रय , हिदसुख ; विसव ; युजेवू ॥ मालयेहि , सेसयो ; पपेस ॥ तोष=दोस ; यथा=अथा ; यमू=अं (Aśokan) ॥ किंचित=इंचि , करणीय=गरणीय (C Asia) ॥ Many records show the Paiśāchī characteristic of the change of sonant into surd (X, 3, and notes). कंबोच ; वच , निकम ; मकवतो ॥ पारिंचात (from पारियात्र ; cf मयूर=मजूर ; भार्या=भारिया=भारिजा) ॥ Cf *infra*, XI, notes

यमुनायां मस्य च ॥३॥ In the word *yamunā*, *m* is elided जउणा (S. 31) ॥ Hem. जँउणा ॥

स्फटिक-निकष-चिकुरेषु कस्य हः ॥४॥ Var lect. ०चिकुर-शीकरेषु० ॥ In the words *sphaṭika*, *nikasha* and *chikura* (also *śīkara* according to K.), *h* is substi-

tuted for the non-initial *k*. फलिहो (*infra*, S 22); शिहसो ; चिहुरो ॥ K. सीहरो ॥ Ins. स्फटिक=फालिग ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 34.

शीकरे भः ॥५॥ According to Bh., *k* in the word *śīkara* is substituted by *bh*. सीभरो ॥ K. prefers सीहरो (S. 4) and ignores this *Sūtra*

चन्द्रिकायां मः ॥६॥ In the word *chandrikā*, *m* is substituted for *k*. चन्दिमा ॥ This is due to the influence of Sans. चन्द्रमस् ।

ऋत्वादिषु तो दः ॥७॥ In the words, *ṛitu*, etc., *d* is substituted for *t*. ऋतु=उदु ; रजत=रअदं ; आगत=आअदो ; निर्वृति=निव्वुदी ; आवृत्ति=आउदी ; सुकृति =सुइदी ॥ Note that the change of *t* and *th* respectively to *d* and *dh* is a universal Saurasenī characteristic (XII. 3). This feature is also usually noticed in inscriptions. Ins. सादकं, सादवाहन, सदकणि (Nasik) ॥

प्रति-वेतस-पताकासु डः ॥८॥ Var lect. प्रतिसर॰ ॥ In the words *prati* (*pratisara*, according to some Mss), *vetasa* and *patākā*, *ḍ* is substituted for *t*. पडि ; वेडिसो ; पडाआ ॥ प्रतिच्छन्दः=पडिच्छन्दो ॥ When preceded by medial *ṛi* or subscript *r*, *t* is usually changed to *ṭ* in Aśokan records. संपटिपती, कटे, भुटि, पटिंना । Cf. *infra*, S. 20.

वसति-भरतयोर्हः ॥९॥ In the words *vasati* and *bharata*, *h* is substituted for *t*. वसही ; भरहो ॥ Cf. Ins. भारतवर्ष=भरधवस ॥

गर्भिते णः ॥१०॥ In the word *garbhita*, *ṇ* is substituted for *t*. गब्भिणं ॥

ऐरावते च ॥११॥ In the word *airāvata*, *ṇ* is substituted for *t*. एरावणो ॥

प्रदीप्त-कदम्ब-दोहदेषु दो लः ॥१२॥ In the words *pradīpta*, *kadamba* and *dohada*, *l* is substituted for *d* पलित्तं ; कलम्बो ; दोहलो ॥ दोहद also becomes डोहलो according to Hemachandra (cf *infra*, S 31) Cf. Asokan लिपि=दिपि ॥

गद्गदे रः ॥१३॥ In the word *gadgada*, *r* is substituted for *d*. गग्गरो ॥

संख्यायां च ॥१४॥ In words expressive of number, *r* is substituted for *d* एकादश = एआरह ; द्वादश = वारह (or बारह) ; त्रयोदश = तेरह ; अष्टादश = अट्ठारह ॥ But the rule does not apply to conjuncts. चतुर्दश = चउद्दह ॥ Cf. S 44. Ins. सप्तति = सत्तरि (*supra*, S. 7) ॥ वारस, बारसम ; तेडस, तेडस, तोदस, तेरस. तेरसम ॥ Cf. Ins. तेर, चोद, अडार (Guntur) ॥

पो वः ॥१५॥ *V* is substituted for a single and non-initial *p* शाप = सावो,

शपथ = सवहो ॥ But *p* is usually elided (*supra*, S 2) Cf. Hem वो वः ॥ Cf. Asokan बाढम्=पढं ; विपुल = पिपुल ॥ प्रवेश = पपेस (Pallava) ॥ Of Paiśāchī, *infra*, X, 3.

आपीडे मः ॥१६॥ In the word *āpīḍa*, *m* is substituted for *p* आमेलो ॥ Ins. सर्षप = ससम (?) ॥ Cf. *infra*, S 19, S. 23. Of Ins. कमठ = कफट ॥

उत्तरीयानीययोर्जो वा ॥१७॥ In the word *uttarīya* and in words ending in the affix *anīya*, *jj* is optionally substituted for *y*. उत्तरीय=उत्तरिज्जं, उत्तरीअं (*supra*, S. 2) , करनीय=करणिज्जं, करणीअं ॥

छायायां हः ॥१८॥ In the word *chhāyā*, *h* is substituted for *y* according to Bh. छाहा ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K Cf colloq *chhahā* in E. Bengal.

कबन्धे वो मः ॥१९॥ Var lect यो यः ॥ In the word *kabandha*, *m* (*y*, in some Mss) is substituted for *b* कबन्ध=कमन्धो (or कयन्धो) ॥ Ins एवम् = एम ॥

टो डः ॥२०॥ *Ḍ* is substituted for a non-initial *ṭ* नट=णडो ; विटप=विडवो ; कटु=कडु ॥

सटा-शकट-कैटभेषु ढः ॥२१॥ In the words *saṭā*, *śakaṭa* and *kaiṭabha*, *ḍh* is substituted for *ṭ*. सढा , सअढो ; केढवो (S 29) ॥

स्फटिके लः ॥२२॥ In the word *sphaṭika*, *l* is substituted for *ṭ* फलिहो (*supra*, S 4, S. 20, *infra*, S 23) ॥

डस्य च ॥२३॥ *L* is usually substituted for a single non-initial *ḍ*. दाडिम्ब=डालिमं, दाडिमं , तडाग=तलाअं ; वडभी=वलही ॥ K दाडिमी=दाडिमी, दालिमी ॥ For *l* becoming *ḍ* or ḷ(=r). cf Ins यमल=यमड ; पालीकृ=पाडिओ ; अलिन्द =अळन्दा , महिला=महिडा ॥ See *infra*, X, notes Ins गुल, गरुल ॥ NIA ताल = ताड़ ; ताली = ताड़ी ॥ ळ = ड़ ॥ Sans ल is usually made ळ in South India (X, n)

ठो ढः ॥२४॥ *Ḍh* is substituted for a single non-initial *th* (*infra*, III, 10, note) मठ=मढं ; जठर=जढरं ; कठोर=कढोरं ॥ Ins. माठरी=माढरी ॥ Cf Ins जठर ॥

अंकोठे ल्लः ॥२५॥ In the word *aṃkoṭha*, *ll* is substituted for *ṭh* अंकोल्लो ॥

फो भः ॥२६॥ *Bh* is substituted for a single non-initial *ph* शिफा=सिभा ; शेफालिका=सेभालिआ (Beng शिउलि ; colloq. शेभालिका in East Bengal) ; शफरी= सभरी ॥

यथादिषु हः ॥२६क॥ According to K , in the words *yathā*, etc., *h* is substituted for *th* compulsorily He suggests that S 27 is optional यथा=जहा ॥ Similarly अन्यथा, इतरथा, etc Bh has ignored this *Sūtra*

ख-घ-थ-ध-भां हः ॥२७॥ When single and non-initial, *h* is substituted for *kh, gh, th, dh,* and *bh*, but the substitution does not take place in the five words *pikhalo, pralaghano, pātheam, dhanim* (i e, in words like *a-dhana*) and *sabhā*, according to K. Bh —मुख=मुहं , मेखला=मेहला ; मेघ=मेहो ; गाथा=गाहा ; राधा=राहा ; बधिर=बहिरो ; सभा=सहा ॥ Bh explains the word "usually" implied here from S 23 by suggesting the following examples where the rule does not apply. प्रखर=पखलो ; प्रलम्बघन=पलघणो , अधीर=अधीरो , अघन= अघणो , उपलब्धभाव=उवलद्धभावो ॥ The change of the aspirates to *h* actually indicates the elision of the non-aspirate element, e.g. ख=क्+ह्+अ becoming ह=ह्+अ ॥ Cf. Ins. मुख=मुघ ; परिहरेठ ; महारठि ॥ Cf गुहा=गुफा, गुम्फा=कुभा ॥ Note the Sauraseni characteristic in XII, 3, and *infra*, S 24 and 26 *Gh, dh* and *bh=h* is a very early trait Cf also Ins अघड ; गहिग ; मोकरि , अंधापत ; महनुअब , अबय owing to Paiśāchī influence in the North West and Far South Cf. Aśokan इह=इध, हिद ; इअ (later इयो) ॥ हस्ती=अस्ति (later अत्ति) ; मम=मह=मअ ॥ Ins. चांतमूल, संवचर ॥ Cf S 29, note

प्रथम-शिथिल-निषधेषु ढः ॥२८॥ In the words, *prathama, śithila* and *nishadha, dh* is substituted for *th* and *dh*. पढमो , सिढिलो (NIA ढिला) ; निसढो । Ins प्रथम=पधम, पढम , औषध=ओसुढ ॥

कैटभे भो वः ॥२९॥ In the word *kaitabha, v* is substituted for *bh* केढवो (Bh), कइढवो (K) । Note that the aspiration has only changed its place In Ins. ऋषभदत्त=उषवदात, (Nasik), अभ्यवमत=अबोमत, मुख=मो (*मुअ) (C. Asia), अभय= अबय (Ceylon), etc, the non-aspiration may (S 27, notes) be explained by Paiśāchī (foreign, i e Dravidian and Iranian) influence, see *infra*, ch X,

हरिद्रादीनां रो लः ॥३०॥ In the words *haridrā*, etc., *l* is substituted for *r*. हरिद्रा=हलद्दा (I, 13), चरण=चलणो ; मुखर=मुहलो , युधिष्ठिर=जहिट्ठिलो ; सुकुमार= सोमालो (v l सुउमालो) , करुण=कलुणं , अङ्गुरी=अङ्गुली , अङ्गार=इङ्गालो , किरात= चिलादो (S. 33) , परिखा=फलिहा (S 36) ; परिघ=फलिहो (S 36) ॥ The *Haridrādi-gana* is an *ākriti-gana* (cf I 2 note) Note that the change of *r* to *l* is universal in Māgadhī (cf XI, notes) For *l* becoming *r*, cf किर (IX, 5), Ins अनारंभो , दुरसाय ; पारिंद ; थोरसिरि , उपरखित (?) ॥ Note the Sanskrit grammatic convention रलयोरभेदः and forms like लोहित=रोहित, लोम=रोम, etc. It is not known which of the two forms is earlier. Cf. NIA बावरा ॥ अंचिर बैंचर, वेरि ॥ etc

आदेर्यो जः ॥३१॥ The *adhikāra* of "non-initial" (S. 1) ends here. *J* is substituted for an initial *y* (cf. XI, 4). यष्टि=जट्ठी (Bh.; also लट्ठी by S. 32); यशः=जसो (IV. 18) ॥ For further modifications of *y*, cf. Aśokan मयूर=मजूर; यावत्=आव; विषय=विसव; यथा =अथा; वसेयुः=वसेवु; अर्थाय=अथा; प्रतिपादयेयम् =पटिपादयेहं ॥ Ins. पारियात्र=पारिचात्त (cf. S. 2, note) ॥ निश्चय=निश्चेय=निश्चे; प्रत्यय=प्रचे (C. Asia) ॥ Cf. augmentation in नातिक्य, पचामिक्य : दर्शन ॥

यष्ट्यां लः ॥३२॥ In the word *yashṭi*, *l* is substituted for the first letter, i.e. *y*. लट्ठी ॥ According to K., this *Sūtra* provides for an exception (*apavāda*) to S. 31 He therefore does not recognise Bh.'s alternate form जट्ठी (S. 31).

किराते चः ॥३३॥ In the word *kirāta*, *ch* is substituted for the initial *k*. चिलादो ॥ Ins. चिलात; चिरातदत्त ॥ Cf. Tamil चेर=Sans. केरल ॥

कुब्जे खः ॥३४॥ Var. lect. कुञ्जे॰ ॥ In the word *kubja* (*kuñja* according to some Mss), *kh* is substituted for the initial *k*. कुब्ज=खुज्जो ॥ V. I कुञ्ज=खुञ्ज ॥ Cf. अकर्कश=अखक्खस (Asokan) ॥ कुबेरक=खुविरक (Bhaṭṭiprolu) ॥ For aspiration, cf. Ins दण्ड=धड्ड; दिवस = धिवस; महाराज=महरक ॥ चिह्नित=छिनिद; दुहिता=धुदा, धिता are due to the elision of *h*.

दोला दण्ड-दशनेषु डः ॥३५॥ In the words *dolā*, *daṇḍa* and *daśana*, *ḍ* is substituted for the initial *d* (cf XII, 31). डोला; डण्डो; डसणो ॥ Ins. पार्षद = पासंड; उदार= उडाल; द्वादश=दुवाडस; पञ्चदश=पंनडस ॥ Cf. Pāli डिण्डिम=देण्डिमो ॥

परुष-परिघ-परिखासु फः ॥३६॥ In the words *parusha*, *parigha* and *parikhā*, *ph* is substituted for the initial *p* फरुसो; फलिहो; फलिहा ॥

पनसेऽपि च ॥३७॥ *Ph* is substituted for the initial *p*, also in the word *panasa* फणसो ॥

बिसिन्यां भः ॥३८॥ In the word *bisinī*, *bh* is substituted for the initial *b*. भिसिणी ॥ From the express mention of the feminine form, Bh. infers that the rule does not apply to the word *bisa*.

मन्मथे वः ॥३९॥ In the word *manmatha*, *v* is substituted for the initial *m* वम्महो ॥

लोहले णः ॥४०॥ Var lect. लाहले॰ ॥ In the word *lohala*, *n* is substituted for the initial *l*. णोहलो ॥ Var. lect णाहलो ॥ K. ignores this *Sūtra*. Pāli, Ins. लाङ्गल=नंगल ॥

षट्-शावक-सप्तपर्णानां छः ॥४१॥ Var. lect. षट्-शात० ॥ In the words *shaṭ*, *śāvaka* (*śāta*, according to K.) and *saptaparṇa*, *chh* is substituted for the initial *sh*, *ś* and *s*. षष्ठी=छट्ठी ; षण्मुख=छम्मुहो ; शावक=छावओ ; सप्तपर्ण=छत्तिवण्णो ॥ K. षट्पद=छप्पओ ; शात=छाओ ॥ Cf. Ins शक्य=सकिये, चकिये, चक्ये (Asokan) शान्तमूल= चांतमूल ; शान्तिश्री=चांतिसिरि (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) ॥ Cf क्षुद्र = चुध (Pāli, Nāgarjunikoṇḍa) ॥ Cf. S. 29, note, Pāli. शव=छवो ; शाव=छापो ; शकृत् =छकं ॥

नो णः सर्वत्र ॥४२॥ *N* is substituted for a single *n* everywhere. "Initial" is no longer implied. नदी=णई ; कनक=कणअं ; वचन=वअणं ; मानुष=माणुसो ॥ But cf *n* in conjuncts (IV, 17). Note that in *Paiśāchī* (X, 5), *n* is substituted for *ṇ*.

शषोः सः ॥४३॥ *S* is everywhere substituted for *ś* and *sh*. शब्द=सद्दो ; निशा=णिसा ; अंकुश=अंकुसो ; षण्ढ=सण्ढो ; वृषभ=वसहो ; कषाय=कसाअं ॥ Note that in *Māgadhī* (XI, 3), *ś* is substituted for *s* and *sh*.

दशादिषु हः ॥४४॥ In the words *daśa*, etc., *h* is substituted for *ś*. दश= दह ; एकादश=एआरह , द्वादश=बारह (or वारह); त्रयोदश=तेरह ; चतुर्दश=चउद्दह ; पञ्चदश=पण्णरह ; षोडश=सोलह ; सप्तदश=सत्तरह ; अष्टादश=अट्ठारह ॥ Cf. *supra*, S. 14, Ins. दुवाडस ; बारस ; पंनरस, पंनडस, पंदरस ; चोद्, चोद्दस, चाहुद्दस ; अट्ठार, अट्ठारस ॥ Note that some of the forms, though they look like late, actually occur in early inscriptions. Cf. also Ins. शक्तिश्री=हकुसिरि ॥ श्रीयज्ञशातकर्णि=हिरुयमहातकंणि ॥

संज्ञायां वा ॥४५॥ When the word is a name, the substitution of *h* for *ś* is optional. दशमुख=दहमुहो, दसमुहो , दशबल=दहबलो, दसबलो ; दशरथ=दहरहो, दसरहो ॥ Ins. दसबल ; दषलथ (the *sh* may be due to confusion with the *ś* of Māgadhī ; XI, 3) ॥

दिवसे सस्य ॥४६॥ In the word *divasa*, *h* is optionally substituted for *s*. दिअहो, दिअसो ॥ Cf Ins, संघ=हंघ (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) ॥ अभयस्य=अभयह (Ceylon) ॥ Cf also दास=दम्न ; दासी=दम्नि ; दिवस=धिवम्न (N. W. India, and C Asia) ॥ The C. Asian modified स् as in धिवस् had probably a sound like *z*.

स्नुषायां ण्हः ॥४७॥ In the word *snushā*, *ṇh* is substituted for *sh* —optionally according to K. सोण्हा (Bh) ॥ सोण्हा, ण्हुसा (K) ॥ Actually however the change is of *sn* to *ṇh* (*infra*, III 33). *Snushā* becomes *ṇhusā* which again becomes *suṇhā* and then *soṇhā* (I, 20) metathetically

NOTES

Summary Prakrit (i e what is later called Mahārāshtrī) has all the consonants of Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *ś*, *sh* and *ṇ* (*n* is seen as member of a conjunct). *Ś* and *sh* become *s*, and *n* becomes *ṇ*. शैल=सेलो ; वृषभ=वसहो , वदन=वअणं ॥ *Y* at the beginning of a word becomes *j* (यौवन=जोव्वणं) ; but single initial consonants are usually not changed. When single and non-initial, *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *v* and *y* are usually elided, i e become represented by the remaining vowel ; but *t* and *p*, when not elided, become *d* and *v* respectively वदन=वअणं ; मुकुल=मउलं ; सुपुरुष=सुउरिसो ॥ etc कृपा=किवा, एतेन=एदिन ॥ Cf Sauraseni features in ch XII, 3 Inscriptions however show change of surds into sonants, and also of sonants into surds· लोक=लोग ; पिशाची=पिसाजी , सुख=सुघ ; व्रज=वच ॥ etc Cf. Paiśāchī features in ch X *Ṭ* becomes *ḍ* and *ṭh* becomes *ḍh*, but sometimes *t* becomes *ḍ*, while *r* and *d* both become *l* प्रतिमा=पडिमा , मुकुट =मउडो ; कठोर=कढोर ; हरिद्रा=हलद्दा · प्रदीप्त = पलित्त ॥ *Kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh* and *bh* usually become *h*· मुख=मुहं ; मेघ=मेहो ; गाथा=गाहा ; बधिर=बहिरो ; राषभ=रासहो ॥ Note the following changes in regard to single consonants which are noticed, some frequently, but others rarely क=ह, भ, म, च । त=द, ह, ड, ण । द=ल, र । प=व, म, फ । ट=ड, ल, ढ । ठ=ढ, ल । फ=भ । भ=व । र, य=ल । म=व । प, श=छ ॥

Final consonants are usually elided See *infra*, IV 6-19.

Consonantal changes in Pāli ज=द । जिघत्सा=दिगच्छा , ज्योत्स्ना=दोसिना ; जम्पति=जुदम्पति (cf. Sans दम्पत्ति) ॥ च=त । चिकित्सा=तिकिच्छा ॥ त=ट । चेतक= चेटक ; प्रति=पटि ; दुष्कृत=दुक्कट ॥ ट=ळ । खेट=खेळ , आटविक=आळविक ॥ थ=ठ । सिथिल=सठिल ॥ द=ल, ळ । दौहृद, दोहद=दोहल , उदार=उळार ॥ द=य । खादित= खायित ; स्वादित=सायित ॥ य=व । त्र्यङ्गुलं=तिवङ्गुलं ; कियत्=कीव ; कुलायक=कुलावक ॥ य=व । जरायु=जलाबु , पुय=पुब्ब ॥ य=भ । सरयू=सरभु ॥ य=र । श्रामण्येय=सामणेर ॥ य=ल । यष्टि=लट्ठि ॥ य=ह । स्वयम्पति=सहम्पति , रणञ्जय=रणंजहो ॥ व=य । दाव=दाय ॥ व=प । लाव=लाप, प्रजावती=पजापती ॥ र=ल । रुद्र=लुद्द , परिघ=पलिघ ; रोम=लोम ; सुकुमार=सुखुमाल ॥ श=छ । शाव=छाव ॥ The following changes are noticed क्=क्क । क=ख, ग, ट य, व (or ब) । ग=क, घ । घ=ह । च=ज, त । ज=च, द, य । ट=ठ, ड, ल, ळ । ण=न, ळ । त=ट, थ, द । थ=ट, ठ । द=ट, ड, त, य, ळ । ध=भ, ल, ह, ळ्ह । न=ण, ल । प=क, व । फ=प । ब=प, भ, व । भ=घ, ह । य=अ, इ, ज, ल, व (or ब) । ल=न । व=उ । श=छ, स । ष=छ, ढ । ह=घ, भ, ॥ ड, ढ=ळ्ह । See *Pāliprakāśa*, p. 52 ff.

तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।—संयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

Chapter III—The Conjuncts

उपरिलोपः क ग-ड-त-द-प-ष-साम् ॥१॥ The consonants *k, g, d, t, d, p, sh* and *s* are elided when they stand first (i e above) in a conjunct The remaining letter, if not at the beginning of the word, is doubled (S 50) and in being doubled the second and fourth letters of a *varga* take respectively the first and third letters as their upper members (S 51) The duplication does not take place when the conjunct is at the beginning of a word (S 50) and when it is *r* or *h* (S 54) This rule regarding the change by elision also applies to Vararuchi's rules regarding change by substitution (S 9) भक्त=भत्तं , सिक्थक=सित्थओ , मुग्ध=मुद्धो ; खड्ग=खग्गो , षड्ज=सज्जो , उत्पल=उप्पलं ; मुद्ग=मुग्गो ; सुप्त=सुत्तो , पर्याप्त=पज्जत्तो , गोष्ठी=गोट्ठी , स्खलित=खलिअं , स्नेह=णेहो ॥ Cf मुक्त (*मुक्क?)=मुक्क ॥ Ins सिनेह , अनुविगिन ; पापुनाति ॥ शक्तिश्री=हकुसिरि ॥ धर्माधिष्ठान=धमधिथन , प्रतिष्ठापयति=प्रतिस्तवेति ॥ प्रतिष्ठापित ॥ Cf *infra*, XI, notes Pāli स्तम्भितत्व= छम्भितत्तं , अस्तम्भी=अच्छम्भी ॥ शक्त=सक्को ; पतिमुक्को ॥ इन्दपत्तं ॥

अधो म-न-याम् ॥२॥ The consonants *m, n* and *y* are elided when they stand last (i e beneath) in a conjunct The remaining letter is doubled (cf S 1, note) शुष्म=सोस्स ; रश्मि=रस्सी ; युग्म=जुग्गं , वाग्मिन्=वग्गी ; नग्न=णग्गो ; सौम्य=सोम्मो , योग्य=जोग्गो , तिग्म=तिग्गं ॥ K. points out that when both S 1 and S 2 are applicable (as in तिग्म, नग्न, योग्य, etc), S. 2 is to be followed. The *adholopa-vidhi* is thus more binding than the *uparilopa-vidhi* The regulation regarding *y* is modified when it is in conjunct with *r* and *h*. As regards *nm*, and *mn*, cf S 43 and S 44 respectively Ins अफे ; तफा , अस्पि (S 32n)॥ In Ins *ya* in combination is sometimes elided, sometimes retained (an old trait) Sometimes it becomes *iya* (or *ia, eya*) or *i* Ins. कतव्य (and कतयुव ? Cf S 28n) , कतविय ; उयान= उयान ; रभसिय ; निगोह , परितिजितु , अपवियाता , इथीधियख ; अतियायिक , अपतिय ; अरोगिय ; अरोगि , शकिसुयि , मूलि , दोर्मनस्त ; आननेय ॥ Cf. अर्थाय=अथा ; सातवाहनिहार , साताहनिरठ ॥ Beng निति ॥ Pāli. गुल्म = गुम्बो ॥ For *śm*, cf. S 6.

सर्वत्र ल व-राम् ॥३॥ The consonants (*antastha-varna*, semi-vowels) *l, v* (also *b*, which is supposed to have no distinction with *v* in Prakrit) and *r* are

always elided whether they stand first or last in a conjunct, and the remaining consonant is doubled (cf. S. 1 n, S. 50ff). वल्कल=वक्कलं ; विक्लव=विक्कओ ; लुब्धक= लुद्धओ ; पक्व=पिक्क (I, 3). अर्क=अक्को ; शक्र=सक्को ; सर्व=सव्वं ; तीर्थ=तित्थं ॥ K. points out that if, of the letters *l*, *v* and *r*, there is possibility of the elision of a succeeding one, the preceding one would be saved; that is to say, when *l* and *v* are for elision, the latter would be dropped; similarly *r* would drop when *l* and *r*, or *v* and *r*, stand for elision. पल्वल=पल्ललं ; व्रीहि=वीही ॥ K. further points out the more binding nature of S 2; कल्य=कल्लं ; काव्य=कव्वं ॥ Cf. गुर्वी= गुरुई ; भार्या=भारिया (Paiśāchī, X. 8); आतोर्याम=अतुयाम (Nanaghat); अय्या (Māgadhī, XI, 7; Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, N. W. India.) ॥ Ins. भारिजा ; पूजयितव्या= पूजेतया ; कल्याण=कल्लाण, कय्यान (of Māgadhī र्य=य्य) ॥ उद्यान=उयान (उय्यान, of. Hem., *infra*, XI, notes) चतुर्णाम्=चतुंण्णं, चतुण्हं ॥ आरभितपा (and आरभित्ता ? Cf. S.28,n.) हितत्पा ; स्पमिक ; परिचजितपा ; तुलनया ; दुवे ; तदात्पन ; पायमीना ; एक- चपरिश ; सर्वसप ; बे ; वितीय ; चत्पार ; बडस, द्वादस, दुवाडस ; पितुच्छा (also Pāli) ; स्पसुन ॥

द्रे रो वा ॥४॥ In the conjunct *dr*, the elision of *r* is optional. द्रोह=द्रोहो, दोहो ; चन्द्र=चन्द्रो, चन्दो ; रुद्र=रुद्रो, रुद्दो ॥

सर्वज्ञ-तुल्येषु ञः ॥५॥ In words like *sarvajña* (i.e., words formed with *jña* from the root *jñā*, according to commentators), *ñ* is elided, of. S. 44. सर्वज्ञ=सव्वज्जो ; इङ्गितज्ञ=इंगिअज्जो ॥ Cf. Ins. सवंञु (Nagarjunikonda) ॥ Cf. Saurasenī · विज्ञ=विज्जो, विण्णो (XII 7) ; सर्वज्ञ=सव्वण्णो (XII. 8) ॥ Paiśāchī ज्ञ=ञ्ञ (X, 9) ॥ Māgadhī · ज्ञ=ञ्ञ according to Hemachandra (VIII, 4, 293).

श्मश्रु-श्मशानयोरादेः ॥६॥ The first letter of the words *śmaśru* and *śmaśāna* is elided मस्सू (or मंसू ; IV, 15) ; मसाणं ॥ Ins अश्मन्=अस्प(?)॥ अश्मक= अस्सक (also Pāli) ; कस्मिर ; तिरश्मि=तेरण्हु ॥

मध्याह्ने हस्य ॥७॥ In the word *madhyāhna*, *h* is elided. मज्झण्णो ॥

ह्न-ह्ल-ह्मेषु न-ल-मां स्थितिरूर्द्ध्वम् ॥८॥ Var. lect ह्व० ॥ In the conjuncts, *hn*, *hl* and *hm*, the letters *n*, and *m* are respectively written after *h* पूर्वाह्न=पुव्वण्हो , अपराह्न=अवरण्हो ; कह्लार=कल्हारं , आह्लाद=आल्हादो ; ब्राह्मण=बम्हणो ॥ Note that K 's examples are actually of *hn*, not *hn*, cf S 33 Asokan ब्राह्मण=बंम्हण ; बंभन , बाभन ; ब्रमण ; बमण ॥ Ins बमन ॥ Cf metathesis in S 28n, and *infra*, Notes

युक्तस्य ॥९॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf. *supra*, I, 1, note), and the following rules are to be understood as supplying a substitute for a conjunct

ष्टस्य ठः ॥१०॥ *Ṭh* is substituted for the conjunct *shṭ*. This is a modification of S. 1. यष्टि=लट्ठी ; दृष्टि=दिट्ठी ; विष्टर=विट्ठरं ॥ Cf. Ins. सेस्टे ; सेटगिरि ; विस्ट'तो (*infra*, XI, notes) ॥ अष्ट=अठ ; निःश्लिष्टक=निसिंठय (cf. S. 24) ॥

अस्थिनि ॥११॥ In the word *asthi*, *ṭh* is substituted for *sth* (cf. S. 1) अट्ठी ॥ Ins. अनुथित, अनुठित ॥ स्ठिता ॥ Cf. निग्रन्थ=निगण्ठ ॥ Pāli. ठानं ॥

स्तस्य थः ॥१२॥ *Th* is substituted for *st* (cf. S. 1) हस्त=हत्थो ; समस्त=समत्थो ; स्तुति=थुई (cf. S. 1, note); स्तवक=थवओ ; कौस्तुभ=कोत्थुहो ; स्वस्ति=सत्थि ; वस्तु=वत्थु ॥ Ins. थंमाधुसस्ति ॥ Pāli. परिवड्ढ्वो ॥ छम्मितत्तं ॥ अस्त=अत्तो ॥

न स्तम्बे ॥१३॥ In the word *stamba*, *th* is not substituted for *st*. स्तम्ब=तम्बो ॥ For *mb*, cf. Ins. सुंमिनि ॥

स्तम्भे खः ॥१४॥ In the word *stambha*, *kh* is substituted for *st*. खंभो ॥ Actually however the form *khambho* is derived from the word *skambha*. Ins ठंम, थंभ ॥ *Th* for *th* in inscriptions may in some cases be due to the carelessness of the engraver.

स्थाणावहरे ॥१५॥ In the word *sthāṇu*, when it does not mean *Hara* (i. e. Śiva), *kh* is substituted for the conjunct *sth*. खाणु ॥ But in the sense of Hara, it would be थाणु (S. 1) ॥

स्फोटके ॥१६॥ In the word *sphoṭaka*, *kh* is substituted for the conjunct *sph*. खोडओ ॥

र्य-शय्याभिमन्युषु जः ॥१७॥ *J* is substituted for *ry* and also for the conjunct *yy* in the word *śayyā* and *ny* in *abhimanyu*. कार्य=कज्जं ; शय्या=सेज्जा ; अभिमन्यु=अहिमज्जू ॥ For other changes of *ry*, see *Sūtras* 18-21 ; Paiśāchī · *ry*= *riya* (X, 8), Māgadhī *ry*=*yy* (XI, 7) Māgadhī *ny*=*ññ* (Hem., VIII, 4, 293), cf. Saurasenī. *Kanyā*=*Kaññā*, *Kaṇṇā* (XII, 7) ; Paiśāchī. *kanyā*=*kaññā*, *ny*. *ny*=*ññ*, according to Hem (VIII, 4, 305).

तूर्य-धैर्य-सौन्दर्याश्चर्य-पर्यन्तेषु रः ॥१८॥ In the words, *tūrya*, *dhairya*, *saundarya*, *āścharya* and *paryanta*, *r* is substituted for the conjunct *ry* Note that *r* and *h* are never doubled (cf. S 54 which modifies S 50). तूरं ; धीरं ; सुन्देरं, अच्छेरं, पेरन्तं ॥ Cf. आश्चर्य=अच्छरियं in Saurasenī (XII, 30), Pāli, Hāthigumphā Ins But Hem अच्छेरं, अच्छरिअं, अच्छअरं, अच्छरिज्जं, अच्छरीअं ॥

सूर्ये वा ॥१९॥ In the word *sūrya*, *j* is optionally substituted for *ry*. सूरो, सुज्जो (S 17) ॥ Pāli. सुरियो ॥ Ins सूरियिक ; सुलियिक ॥ Cf S. 20, Paiśāchī, X, 8.

चौर्य-समेषु रिअं ॥२०॥ In the words resembling *chaurya*, *riaṃ* (cf. vowel-augmentation, S. 59f) is substituted for *rya* चौर्य=चोरिअं ; शौर्य=सोरिअं ; वीर्य=वीरिअं ॥ This is an *ākriti-gaṇa* (cf. I, 2, note) According to K., the rule refers to *rya* preceded by a medial *au* *Rya*=*ria* is a universal Paiśāchī characteristic (X 8) Ins आर्य=अरिय, अयिर, ऐर , अइरक ॥

पर्यस्त-पर्याण-सौकुमार्येषु लः ॥२१॥ In the words, *paryasta*, *paryāṇa* and *saukumārya*, *l* is substituted for *ry*. पल्लत्थं , पल्लाणं , सोअमल्लं ॥ Pāli. पर्यङ्क=पल्लङ्क= NIA पालङ्क ॥ Change of *r* to *l* seems to be at the root of these instances (II, 30)

र्तस्य टः ॥२२॥ *Ṭ* is substituted for *rt* कैवर्तक=केवट्टओ ; नर्तकी=नट्टई ॥

पत्तने ॥२३॥ *Ṭ* is substituted for *tt* in the word *pattana* पट्टणं ॥ Cf the name of Pātnā, capital of Bihār

न धूर्तादिषु ॥२४॥ In the words, *dhūrta*, etc , *ṭ* is not substituted for *rt* Bh —धूर्त=धुत्तो , कीर्ति=कित्ती ; वर्तमान=वत्तमाणं , वार्ता=वत्ता , आवर्त=आवत्तो , संवर्तक=संवत्तओ , निवर्तक=निवत्तओ , वर्तिका=वत्तिआ , आर्त=अत्तो , कर्तरी=कत्तरी , मूर्ति=मुत्ती ॥ K—वार्त्तिक, आनर्त्त ; पूर्त्ति , वर्त्तक , कर्त्तन , कार्त्तिकेय ; हर्त्ता ; कर्त्ता ; कीर्त्तन ; मार्त्तण्ड ; वर्त्तन ॥ Cf. NIA. काटारी ; काटन ॥ Ins वर्त्तमानक=वटमानक , अपहर्त्ता=अपहठ ; कार्त्तिक=कटिय ; संवर्त्त=संवट ॥

गर्ते ड ॥२५॥ In the word *garta*, *ḍ* is substituted for *rt* गड्डो ॥

गर्दभ-संमर्द-वितर्दि-विच्छर्दिषु र्दस्य ॥२६॥ In the words, *gardabha*, *sammarda*, *vitardi* and *vichhardi*, *ḍ* is substituted for *rd* गड्डहो , संमड्डो , विअड्डी , विच्छड्डी ॥ K विच्छर्द=विच्छड्डो ॥ र्थ=त्थ ; but cf. Pāli अर्थ=अत्थो, अट्टो, अट्ठो ॥

त्य-थ्य-द्यां च-छ-जाः ॥२७॥ *Ch*, *chh*, and *j* are respectively substituted for *ty*, *thy* and *dy* सत्य=सच्चं ; नित्य=णिच्चं ; प्रत्यक्ष=पच्चक्खं । रथ्या=रच्छा ; मिथ्या=मिच्छा , पथ्य=पच्छं । विद्या=विज्जा : वैद्य=वेज्जं ॥ Ins. उयान, उयाम (*infra*, XI, notes) ; पलितिदिसु; अविगिच्य; खादियति; अपतिय; अतियायिक ॥ Pāli अत्यल्प=अतप्पो ॥ Ins अमात्य=आमत ॥

ध्य-ह्योर्झः ॥२८॥ *Jh* is substituted for *dhy* and *hy* मध्य=मज्झं ; अध्याय=अज्झाओ ; बाह्यक=वज्झओ ; गुह्यक=गुज्झओ । सह्य=सज्झं । Pali, Ins पतिगध्द (Nasik) । Ins सह्य=सय्ह (Nasik) ॥ अवधिय ; इत्थीधियख ॥ Pāli ह्य.=हीयो, हिय्यो ; लेह्य=लेय्यं ; उह्यते=वुय्हति, वुल्हति । असय्हो, असल्हो ॥ Cf Asokan कतयध, etc.

ष्क-स्क-क्षां खः ॥२९॥ *Kh* is substituted for *shk*, *sk* and *ksh* मुष्क=मुक्खं ; पुष्कर=पोक्खरो , स्कन्द=खन्दो , स्कन्ध=खन्धो , क्षत=खदो ; यक्ष=जक्खो ॥ भास्कर= भाक्खरो , निष्क=निक्खं रक्षति=रक्खइ ॥ Cf Ins स्कन्द=खंद, कंद । पुष्कर=पोखर ॥ Ins (cf Pāli) दुकर, दूकत, कध (NIA कॉध); संकर । निक्रमन ॥ निष्कम्प=निक्कम्प (Cowell, *Or Pr*, p 13) णमक्कारो, णमोक्कारो । Pāli झामो ; विज्झायति ॥ ऋक्ष=इक्को , धक्को ॥

अक्ष्यादिषु छः ॥३०॥ In the words *akshi*, etc , *chh* is substituted for *ksh* अक्षि=अच्छी ; लक्ष्मी=लच्छी , क्षुण्ण=छुण्णो ; क्षीर=छीरं , क्षुब्ध=छुद्धो , उत्क्षिप्त= उच्छित्तो , सदृक्ष=सरिच्छं , इक्षु=उच्छू ; उक्षन्=उच्छा ; क्षार=छार ; ऋक्ष=रिच्छो , मक्षिका=मच्छिआ ; क्षुत=छुअं , क्षुर=छुरं ; क्षेत्र=छेत्तं , वक्ष=वच्छो ; दक्ष=दच्छो , कुक्षि=कुच्छी ॥ K—क्षमा , अक्षर , क्षिप्त ; क्षुत् , पक्ष , मृगाक्षी ॥ Cf Ins क्षीर=खीर (Basim), क्षेत्र=खेतं (Nasik, Guntur), छेत्तं (Guntur) । क्षमा=खमा (Nasik) । सुलक्ष्मी= सुलखि (Mahāsthān) ॥ क्षुद्र=खुद्र (Guntur, Pāli) ॥ NIA आँखि, आँख ॥

क्ष्मा वृक्ष क्षणेषु वा ॥३१॥ Var lect क्षमा॰ ॥ In the words *kshmā* (or *kshamā*), *vriksha* and *kshana*, *chh* is optionally substituted for *ksha* छमा, खमा । वच्छो (only when *ri* is changed to *a*, cf *supra*, I, 32), रुक्खो । छणो (only when the word signifies "a feast"), खणो ॥

ष्म-पक्ष्म-विस्मयेषु म्हः ॥३२॥ Var lect ग्रीष्म॰ ॥ *Mh* is substituted for *shm*, and also for the conjuncts in the words *pakshma* and *vismaya* ग्रीष्म= गिम्हो , उष्मन्=उम्हा , पक्ष्मन्=पम्हो ; विस्मय=विम्हओ ॥ Ins तस्मात्=तफा ; अस्मि= अस्पि, अम्हि, सुमि ॥ Cf Pāli पक्ष्मन्=पखुमं, पम्हं ॥

ह्न-स्न-ष्ण-क्ष्ण-श्नां ण्हः ॥३३॥ Var. lect ह्न॰ *Nh* is substituted for *hn*, *sn*, *shn*, *kshn* and *śn* Note that Bh 's examples are of *ṇh*, not *nh* (cf S 8) वह्नि=वण्ही ; जह्नु=जण्हु ; श्लक्ष्ण=सण्हं , तीक्ष्ण=तेण्हं , प्रश्न=पण्हो ; शिश्न=सिण्हो ; निह्नव=णिण्हवो , स्नपन=ण्हवणं ; अभीक्ष्ण=अहिण्हं ॥ Cf Ins अनुगहिनेवू ॥ प्रश्न=पसिने (Asokan), पञ्हो (Pāli) ॥

चिह्ने न्धः ॥३४॥ In the word, *chihna*, *ndh* is substituted for the conjunct चिन्धं ॥ Ins चिह्नित=छिनिद (C. Asia) ॥

ष्पस्य फः ॥३५॥ *Ph* is substituted for *shp* पुष्प=पुप्फं ; शष्प=सप्फं ; निष्पात=निप्फाओ ; गीष्पति=गीप्फइ ॥ Cf चतुष्पथ=चउप्पहो (Cowell, *Or Pr*, p 15) ॥ Ins. चतुप्पद (Asokan) ॥ Pāli वाष्प=वप्पो ॥

स्पस्य सर्वत्र-स्थितस्य ॥३६॥ V. 1. स्पस्य च ॥ *Ph* is substituted for *sp* wherever it is found, i e. at the beginning, middle or end of a word. स्पर्श=फंसो (IV, 15; *infra*, S. 62), स्पन्दन=फन्दनं ; स्पष्ट=फट्ठो ; आस्पद=अप्फअं ॥ Cf बृहस्पति=भअप्फई (*infra*, IV, 30) Ins बहसति (cf S. 37; Pāli पुप्फित=फुस्सित) ॥ स्फुर=स्रोर (C. Asia)॥ Hem. परोप्परं ॥ Pāli. वनप्पति । स्पृहा=पिहा ॥ सर्वत्रस्थितस्य is unnecessary in the text

स्सि च ॥३७॥ *Si* is also substituted for *sp*. प्रतिस्पर्द्धिन्=पाडिसिद्धी (*supra*, I. 2) ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

बाष्पेऽश्रुणि हः ॥३८॥ In the word *bāshpa*, meaning "a tear," *h* is substituted for *shp*. बाहो (S. 54) ॥ But बप्फो, when the word means "hot vapour".

कार्षापणे ॥३९॥ In the word *kārshāpana*, *h* is substituted for the conjunct *rsh*. काहावणो (S. 54) ॥ Ins. काहापण ॥ Cf एप्यथ=एहथ ॥ अभयस्य = अपयह ॥

श्च-त्स-प्सां छः ॥४०॥ *Chh* is substituted for the conjuncts *śch*, *ts* and *ps* पश्चिम=पच्छिमं ; आश्चर्य=अच्छेरं ; वत्स=वच्छो ; वत्सर=वच्छरो ; लिप्सा=लिच्छा ; जुगुप्सा=जुगुच्छा ; पश्चात्=पच्छा ; कुत्सा=कुच्छा ; अप्सरा=अच्छरा ॥ For *ścha* in Māgadhi, see XI, notes. Cf. निश्चय=निच्चय (Cowell, *Or. Pr.*, p. 13) ॥ Ins. संचर ।

वृश्चिके ञ्छः ॥४१॥ Var. lect. ०ञ्छु (K) ॥ In the word *vriśchika*, *ñch* (Bh., cf. *supra*, I, 15) or *chchhu* (K) is substituted for *śch*. विञ्छुओ, विच्छुओ ।

नोत्सुकोत्सवयोः ॥४२॥ In the words *utsuka* and *utsava*, *chh* is not substituted for *ts* उस्सुओ, उस्सओ (cf. S. 1 and 50), according to some Mss. also उसुओ ; उसओ ॥ Beng. उच्छव (S. 40) ॥

न्मो मः ॥ ४३ ॥ *M* is substituted for *nm*; cf S 2 जन्मन्=जम्मो ; मन्मथ= वम्महो (*supra*, II, 30); यन्मय=जम्मओ (II, 31) ॥

म्न-ज्ञ-पञ्चाशत्-पञ्चदशेषु णः ॥ ४४ ॥ *Ṇ* is substituted for *mn* and *jñ* and for the conjunct *ñch* in the words *pañchāśat* and *pañchadaśa*. For *jñ*, cf. S. 5. प्रद्युम्न=पज्जुण्णो ; यज्ञ=जण्णो ; विज्ञान=विण्णाणं ; पञ्चाशत्=पण्णासा , पञ्चदश= पण्णरहो ॥ K निम्न=णिण्णं ; ज्ञान=णाणं ॥ Ins. पञ्च = पन्द (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa); पन्दरस (Hāthīgumphā) ॥

तालवृन्ते ण्टः ॥ ४५ ॥ In the word *tālavrinta*, *ṇṭ* is substituted for the conjunct *nt*. तालवेण्टं (*supra*, I, 10).

भिन्दिपाले ण्डः ॥ ४६ ॥ In the word *bhindipāla*, *ṇḍ* is substituted for the conjunct *nd* भिण्डिवालो ॥

विह्वले भ-हौ वा ॥४७॥ In the word *vihvala*, *bh* and *h* are optionally substituted for the conjunct *hv*. वेब्भलो (*supra*, I, 12), वीहलो (S. 54) ॥ Cf. Pāli. गब्भरं ॥

आत्मनि पः ॥४८॥ In the word *ātman*, *p* is optionally substituted. अप्पा । अत्ता (S. 2) । Cf. अप्पाणो (*infra*, V 45) ॥ Cf. Ins. आत्प । आत्वनो ॥ आपुणो ॥

क्मस्य ॥४९॥ *P* is substituted for the conjunct *km* (cf. S. 2). रुक्मिणी=रुप्पिणी ॥

शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वमनादौ ॥५०॥ *Sesha* means the remaining letter of a conjunct after the elision of one of its members. *Ādeśa* indicates the letter that has to be substituted for another according to injunction. Wherever, after performing an elision or substitution enjoined by a rule, a single consonant comes to represent a conjunct, this letter is always doubled. But the doubling does not take place if it is *h* or *r* (S. 54), or if it is at the beginning of a word. भुक्तं=भुत्तं (S 1); अग्निः=अग्गी (S. 2); मार्गः=मग्गो (S. 3), दृष्टिः=दिट्ठी (S. 1; S. 10) ॥ Why "not when at the beginning of a word"? स्तवकः=थवओ (S. 12); स्तम्भः=खम्भो (S. 14) ॥

वर्गेषु युजः पूर्वः ॥५१॥ *Yuj* means the second and fourth letters of a *varga*. When doubling takes place (S. 50) whether in regard to the first or second member of a conjunct, wherever the single representative is an aspirate (i.e. the second or fourth letter of a *varga*) it is to be doubled by prefixing its own non-aspirate. In the case of others, they are themselves their duplicates. व्याख्यानं=वक्खाणं ; अर्घ, अर्घ्यः=अग्घो ; मूर्च्छा=मुच्छा ; निर्झरः=णिज्झरो ; लुब्धः=लुद्धो ; निर्भरः=णिब्भरो ; दृष्टिः=दिट्ठी ; वक्षः=वच्छो (*infra*, IV, 18); विमर्शः=विप्फरिसो ; निस्तारः=णित्थारो ॥ Ins. तक्खसिला ॥

नीडादिषु ॥५२॥ Var lect नीलाo ॥ In the words, *nīḍa* (*nīla*, according to some Mss), etc., the non-initial letter (although it is not a conjunct) is doubled नीडः=णेड्डं (*supra*, I, 19; v. l. नीलः=णेल्लं); स्रोतः=सोत्तं, प्रेमन्=पेम्म ; व्याहृतं=वाहित्तं ; ऋजुकः=उज्जुओ ; जनकः=जण्णओ ; यौवनं=जोव्वणं ॥ जानु=जाण्णु ॥ The expression *dvitvam=anādau* (S. 50) comes here by the *maṇḍukapluti-nyāya*

आम्र ताम्रयोर्म्बः ॥५३॥ Var. lect oम्वः. or oव्वः ॥ In the words, *āmra* and *tāmra*, *mb* (or *v*, or *b*), is employed in the doubling (S 50) अम्बं (or अव्वं, or अंब्बं) तम्बं (or तव्वं, or तंब्वं) ॥ Ins अंब, अंबा ॥ तांब्र ॥ The forms अम्बं and तम्बं are supported by Pāli Gr., Hem. (I, 84, II, 56) and others. Cf. S 56

न र-होः ॥५४॥ *R* and *h* are never doubled धैर्य=धीरं, तूर्य=तूरं (S 5), जिह्वा=जीहा (*supra*, I, 17, III 5); बाष्प=बाहो (S. 38) ॥

आङो ज्ञस्य ॥५५॥ When *jñ* is preceded by the prepositio *ā*, its substitute *ṇ* (S 44) is not doubled. आज्ञा=आणा ; आज्ञप्ति=आणत्ती ॥ Why "when preceded by *ā*"? संज्ञा=सण्णा ; प्रज्ञा=पण्णा ॥

न विन्दुपरे ॥५६॥ A letter immediately following an *anusvara* is not doubled Cf. S 50 संक्रान्त=संकन्तो, सन्ध्या=संझा ॥

समासे वा ॥५७॥ In a compound, the doubling is optional whether the case is of elision or substitution. नदीग्राम=णइग्गामो, णईगामो ; कुसुमप्रकर=कुसुमप्पअरो, कुसुमपअरो ; देवस्तुति=देवत्थुई, देवथुई ॥

सेवादिषु च ॥५८॥ In the words, *sevā*, etc., the doubling of the non-initial consonant is optional. सेवा=सेव्वा, सेवा (K सेआ) ; एक=एक्कं, एअं ; नख=णक्खो, णहो ; दैव=देव्वं, दइवं , अशिव=असिव्वं, असिवं ; त्रैलोक्य=तेल्लोक्कं, तेलोअं ; निहित=णिहित्तो, णिहिओ , तूष्णीक=तुण्हिक्को, तुण्हिओ ॥ In Bh 's examples दीर्घ=दिग्घ, दीहं ; रात्रि=रत्ती, राई ; दुःखित=दुक्खिओ, दूहिओ , अश्व=अस्सो, आसो ; ईश्वर=इस्सरो, ईसरो ; विश्वास=विस्सासो, वीसासो , निश्वास=णिस्सासो, णीसासो ; etc , the doubling is not actually due to this rule Cf. S 1-3 and notes on *supra*, I, 17. Note that *anusvāra* or *visarga* together with the following consonant is considered equal to a conjunct The *visarga* (considered equal to a sibilant) is elided and the following consonant is doubled In Pāli *ya* at the end of a word is often doubled मैत्रेय = मेत्तेय्यो ॥

विप्रकर्षः ॥५९॥ Var lect विकर्ष. ॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf *supra*, I. 1, note) regarding "the separation of conjunct consonants". This feature is usually called *svarabhakti* (vowel-augmentation) or anaptyxis

क्लिष्ट-श्लिष्ट-रत्न-क्रिया-शार्ङ्गेषु तत्स्वरवत् पूर्वस्य ॥६०॥ In the five words *klishṭa*, etc , the conjunct consonants are dissociated and the first consonant which has no vowel of its own suffers vocalisation and becomes sounded with the original vowel क्लिष्ट=किलिट्ठं ; श्लिष्ट=सिलिट्ठं ; रत्न=रअणं, रदणं ; क्रिया=किरिआ ; शार्ङ्ग=सारङ्गो ॥

कृष्णे वा ॥६१॥ In the word *kṛishṇa*, the separation of the conjunct is optional कण्हो, कसणो ॥ This optionality is supposed to be what is called *vyavasthita-vibhāshā*. *Kṛishṇa* becomes *Kanho* (S. 33) when it is a proper name, but *kasaṇo* when the meaning of the word is "black." NIA. कान, काह्नाइ, कानाइ ॥

इः श्री-ह्री-क्रीत-क्लान्त-क्लेश-म्लान-स्वप्न-स्पर्श-हर्षार्ह-गर्हेषु ॥६२॥ In the eleven words *śrī*, etc , the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is vocalised with the vowel *i* श्री=सिरी , ह्री=हिरी , क्रीत=किरीतो क्लान्त=किलन्तो , क्लेश= किलेसो , म्लान=मिलाणा स्वप्न=सिविणो ; स्पर्श=फरिसो (cf S 36) , हर्ष=हरिसो ; अर्ह= अरिहो , गर्ह=गरिहो ॥ Cf. Ins तरिस, किलमथ, अनुविगिन ॥ अरहा, गरहा, फस्स ॥

अः क्ष्मा-श्लाघयोः ॥६३॥ In the words *kshmā* and *ślāghā*, the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is sounded with *a* छमा (cf S 31), सलाहा (*supra*, II, 27) ॥ Cf. Ins. स्वामिक=सुवामिक्य ॥

स्नेहे वा ॥६४॥ In the word *sneha*, the division of the conjunct is optional, but when it takes places, the first consonant is vocalised with *a* सणेहो, णेहो (S 1) ॥ Pāli, Ins सिनेहो ॥ Cf Pāli. स्नायु=सिनेरु ॥

उः पद्म-तन्वी-समेषु ॥६५॥ In the word *padma* and in the words, *tanvī* etc , the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is sounded with the vowel *u* पद्म=पउमं (K पदुमं ; Hem also पोम्मं) : तन्वी=तणुई ; लघ्वी=लहुई ; गुर्वी=गुरुइ ॥ Cf Ins. सुवे, दुवाल, दुवाडस ॥ पापुनाति ॥

ज्यायामीत् ॥६६॥ In the word *jyā*, the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is vocalised with the vowel *ī* जीआ ॥ Cf. Pāli ह्य =हिय्यो, हीयो ॥

NOTES

Summary. Cf. *Phonetic changes* in *Notes* appended to Chapter I (*supra*, pp 14-15) Assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, epenthesis, etc. are quite common in the Prakrit conjuncts Assimilation is the commonest feature, for which see *op cit*

A Sanskrit conjunct is represented in Prakrit by one of its members doubled But र, ह and initial sounds are not doubled. When one member of the conjunct is a sibilant, the sibilant is elided and the remaining consonant is aspirated, and also doubled when it is non-initial In doubling, the second and fourth letters of a *varga* take respectively the first and third letters as their partners स्कन्द=खन्दो , पुष्प=पुप्फ ; वृश्चिक=विच्छुओ ॥ If a semi-vowel forms part of a conjunct, it is usually elided अर्द्ध=अद्धो ; पक्व=पक्को ; विन्ध्य=विञ्झो ॥ Sometimes a conjunct is divided and a vowel comes in between the disjointed consonants. (Some of such cases are rare) हर्ष=हरिसो ॥ A list of Prakrit (so called Mahārāshṭrī) conjuncts with their corresponding Sanskrit compound consonants is given below. क्क=क्क , क्व ; क्य ; क्र ; र्क ; क्ल ; ल्क ; क्न ॥ क्ख=क्ख ; क्ष ; ख्य ; ख्र ; क्ष्य ; ष्क ; स्क ; ष्ख ; स्ख ; 'ख ॥ ग्ग=द्ग ; ग्र ; ग्न ; ग्य ; ग्र , र्ग ; ल्ग ; ग्म ॥ ग्घ=द्घ ; घ्न ; घ्र ; घ्र ; र्घ ; र्घ्य ॥ ङ्ख=ङ्ख ; ङ्ख्य ॥ च्च=च्य ; त्य : च्र ; र्च ॥

च्छ=श्च ; र्छ ; छ्र ; प्च ; त्च ; त्स ; त्स्य ; प्स ; श्च ॥ ज्ज=ज्ज ; द्य ; र्ज ; ज्र ; ज्व ; र्य ; य्य ॥ ज्झ=ध्य ; ह्य ॥ ञ्ज=ञ्ज ; न्य ; ण्य ॥ ट्ट=ट्ट ; ष्ट ; त्र ; स्थ ॥ ड्ड=र्त ; र्द ॥ ड्ढ=ब्ध ; द्ध ; र्ध ॥ ण्ट=न्त ॥ ण्ड=न्द ॥ ण्ण=म ; ज्ञ ; म्न ; न्न ; ण्य ; न्य ; र्ण ; ण्व ; न्व ॥ ण्ह=ष्ण ; श्न ; ष्ण ; स्न ; ह्न ; ह्ण ॥ त्त=क्त ; प्त ; त्न ; त्म ; त्र ; त्व ; र्त ॥ त्थ=स्थ ; प्थ ; स्त ; र्थ ; स्त ; स्थ ॥ द्द=ग्द ; ब्द ; द्य ; द्र ; र्द ; द्व ॥ द्ध=ग्ध ; ब्ध ; र्ध ; ध्व ॥ न्ध=ह्न ॥ प्प=ष्प ; त्प ; प्य ; प्र ; ल्प ; र्प ; क्म ; त्म ॥ प्फ=ष्फ ; त्फ ; ष्फ ; :फ ; स्फ ; ष्प ; स्प ॥ ब्ब=ग्ब ; द्व ; द्र ; र्ब ; ब्र ; ब्य ॥ ब्भ=ग्भ ; द्भ ; ह्र ; भ्य ; र्भ ; भ्र ; ह्व ॥ म्म=क्म ; ग्म ; न्म ; म्य ; र्म ; ल्म ॥ म्ह=ष्म ; ग्म ; स्म ; ह्म ॥ ल्ल=ल्य ; र्ल ; ल्व ; र्य ॥ ल्ह=ह्ल ॥ व्व=द्व ; व्य ; र्व ॥ स्स=र्श ; श्र ; श्व ; स्व ॥ स्स=श्म ; श्य ; ष्य ; ष्म ; स्य ; श्र ; र्श ; श्व ; र्ष ; ष्व ; स्र ; स्व ॥ Cf. रिम=र्श, र्ष ॥ रिह=र्ह ॥

Change of Conjuncts in Pāli. Y in combination is sometimes retained (वाक्यं, भार्यं), but usually elided. तस्य=तस्स ॥ त्य=च (च at the beginning of a word) ॥ सत्य=सच्च ॥ त्याग=चाग ॥ थ्य=च्छ ॥ द्य=ज्ज (ज at the beginning of a word) ॥ ध्य=ज्झ (झ at the beginning of a word) ॥ ण्य, न्य=ञ्ञ ॥ शून्य=शूञ्ञ ॥ ह्यः=हिय्यो, हीयो । तुर्यं=तुय्यं , बाह्य=बाहिय, बाहिर ॥ Subscript r is usually assimilated except in some words, e.g., ब्रह्मण ; इन्द्रिय ॥ ह्री=हिरी ॥ ह्रस्व=रस्सो ॥ Superscript r except in *rh* and *ry* is assimilated. धर्म=धम्म ॥ *Dentals in combination are sometimes cerebralized.* वर्द्धमान=वड्ढमानो, दग्ध=दड्ढं ॥ *L* in combination. शिल्प=सिप्प ॥ Sometimes क्लेश=किलेस ॥ *V* in combination. चत्वार=चत्तार ॥ Sometimes द्वे=दुवे ; द्वार=दुवार ; स्वस्ति=सुवात्थि ॥ Sometimes *v* is retained. द्वा ; विद्वान् ; त्वा ; स्वास ॥ श्च=च्छ । आश्चर्य=अच्छरिय ; पश्चिम=पच्छिम ॥ क्ष=क्ख । चक्षुः=चक्खु ॥ Sometimes क्ष=च्छ (छ at the beginning of a word) । क्षमा=छमा ; ऋक्ष=अच्छ ॥ ष्ट, ष्ठ=ट्ठ । अष्ट=अट्ठ ॥ ष्प, ष्फ=प्फ । पुष्प=पुप्फ ॥ स्क=क्ख । नमस्कार=नमक्खार , पुरस्कार=पुरेक्खार ॥ स्त, स्थ=त्थ । पुस्तक=पोत्थक ॥ Sometimes (at the beginning of a word) स्थ=ठ । स्थान=ठानं ॥ Sometimes स्थ=ख । स्थाणु=खाणु ॥ स्त sometimes remains unchanged. मस्त ॥ स्थ=ट्ठ । अस्थि=अट्ठि ॥ प्स (in the middle of a word)=च्छ । अप्सरा=अच्छरा ॥ जुगुप्सा=जिगच्छा ॥ स्प=फ (at the beginning of a word) । स्पर्श=फस्सो ॥ स्फ=प्फ ॥ विस्फार=विप्फार ॥ श्न=ञ्ह । प्रश्न=पञ्हो ॥ ष्ण=ण्ह । तृष्णा=तण्हा ; sometimes तसिना ॥ स्न=न्ह । स्ना, न्हायति । But स्नान=नहान ॥ श्म=म्ह । अश्मन्=अम्ह ॥ श्म=म (at the beginning of a word) । श्मश्रु=मस्सु ॥ But रंसि ॥ ष्म, स्म=म्ह । ग्रीष्म=गिम्ह ; स्मित=म्हित ॥ स्मृ=सर, सुमर । सरति, सुमरति ॥ ह्व=व्ह । जिह्वा=जिव्हा ॥ The above are the most important changes. Some interesting modifications have been noticed above in the notes on the Sūtras of this Chapter. For some other rare cases of modification, see V. Bhattacharya, *Pālipraḱāśa*, p. 6ff.

चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।—सङ्कीर्णविधिः ॥

Chapter IV—Miscellaneous Rules

This chapter refers to some more cases of assimilation It deals with Sandhi, elision of sounds, change of gender, the *taddhita* with a few *krit* affixes, augmentation of *anusvāra*, metathesis, etc

सन्धावचामज्लोपविशेषा बहुलम् ॥ १ ॥ Var. lect ०चामज्लोप० (K) ॥ *Ach* is a *pratyāhāra* or technical term indicating the vowels When vowels are in *sandhi* (i e in a state of immediate conjunction with vowels or other sounds), various kinds of change in the vowels and elision arise *Change of Vowels in Sandhi (and Samāsa)* यमुनातट=जउणअडं, जउणाअड' (K जउणाडं ; but cf Hem.) ; नदीजल=णइजलं, णईजलं ; सरोरुह =सरोरुह, सररुहं ; नमस्कार=णमक्कारो, णमोक्कारो ; नवैश्वर्य=णवेसज्ज' ; सोऽयं=सोअ', सोअअ' ; वसिष्ठर्षि=वसिट्ठेसी ; महेन्द्र=महिन्दो ; शिरोरोग=सिरोरोओ, सिररोओ ; पवनोद्धत=पवणुद्धअ', पवणोद्धअ' ॥ *Elision of Vowels*. राजकुल=राअउलं, राउलं ; तवार्द्ध=तुहद्धं, तुहअद्धं ; ममार्द्ध=महद्ध', महअद्ध' ; पादपतन=पावडणं, पाअवडणं (VIII, 51), पादपीठ=पापीढं, पाअपीढं ; चन्द्रकला=चन्दला, चन्दअला ; सहकार=सहारो, सहआरो ॥ According to Bh., when a conjunct consonant follows, it is always the first of the two meeting vowels that is elided. Of course, the elision is not compulsory The word *bahulam* (variously) in the *Sūtra* suggests that the changes are absolute in some cases, but in others they admit of different forms Bh.'s commentary is faulty According to K., the rule refers also to vowels representing elided consonants In *svara-sandhi*, the *pratyāhāra* called *al* (i.e. the vowels *a, i, u, ri* and *li*) is sometimes omitted, sometimes retained and sometimes substituted by other vowels Sometimes a long vowel is shortened. Note that Sūtras 2-5 below can be explained by S. 1 and *supra*, II, 2, and may actually be unnecessary interpolations. K says that the vowel before a conjunct is always short. Cf Ins. भटमय , भ्रमनिम्य , भ्रममम ; एकिक ; गतोस्मि ; तायेठाये ; वसअमिसित ; महाधावहा ;

अपवुड ; हेवमेव ; हेवंमेव ; हँमेव ; हेमेव ; महाअपाय ; मनोअतिलेक ; कयाएामेव ; इयंमन ; तपसिइसि, ; तियुत्तर ; नस ; इस्तीधियत्त ; सुपाथाय ; विमछवत ; महअइरक ; पसोपग ; राजरिसि ; तडागउदपान ; सातवाहनिहार ; वर्षारतु ; महिटीक ; हथस ; व्योपिशसि ॥

उदुम्बरे दोर्लोपः ॥२॥ In the word *udumbara, du* is elided. उम्बरं ॥ Cf. Ins. ओदुंबर, ओदुंबरि ॥

कालायसे यस्य वा ॥३॥ In the word *kālāyasa, ya* is optionally elided. कालासं, कालाअसं ॥ Pāli मोग्गल्लानो, कतिपयाह=कतिपाह ॥ Cf Ins नवनगर=नवनर ॥ प्रतिहाररक्षी=पटिहारस्नी ॥ लेखहारक=लेहरग ॥ ननु, नूनम्=णं ॥

भाजने जस्य ॥४॥ In the word *bhājana, ja* is optionally elided भाणं, भाअणं ॥

यावदादिषु वस्य ॥५॥ In the words, *yāvat*, etc , *va* is optionally elided. यावत्=जा, जाव ; तावत्=ता, ताव , पारावत=पाराओ, पारावओ ; अनुवर्त्तमान=अणुत्तन्तो, अणुवत्तन्तो ; जीवित=जीअं, जीविअं ; एव, एव=एअ, एव्व ॥ K.—आवर्त्तमान, प्रावरक, अवट ; चक्रवाक ; देवकुल ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

अन्त्यस्य हलः ॥६॥ The final consonant of a word is always elided यशस्=जसो (S. 18) , नमस्=णहं (S. 19) ; सरस्=सरो ; कर्मन्=कम्मो ; यावत्=जाव ; पश्चात्=पच्छा ; मरुत्=मरु ; चन्द्रमस्=चन्दमो ; इन्द्रजित्=इन्दई ॥ The rule does not apply to words in composition, cf Hem., I. 11

स्त्रियामात् ॥७॥ *Ā* is substituted for the final consonant of a feminine word. सरित्=सरिआ ; प्रतिपत्=पडिवआ ; वाच्=वाआ ॥ According to K., *ā* is added after the final consonant वाचा , दिसा ॥ But cf II, 2

रो रा ॥८॥ *Rā* is substituted for the final *r* of a feminine word. धुर् = धुरा , गिर्=गिरा ॥ This Sūtra is naturally omitted by K., cf S 7.

न विद्युति ॥९॥ *Ā* is not substituted for the final letter of the word *vidyut* (although it is a feminine noun ; cf S. 7). विज्जू (S 6) ॥

शरदो दः ॥१०॥ *Da* is substituted for the final *d* of the word *śarad*. सरदो (S. 18) ॥

दिक्-प्रावृषोः सः ॥११॥ Var lect प्रावृष. सः (K) ॥ *S* is substituted for the final consonant of the words *dik* and *prāvṛṣh* दिसा । पाउसो (Bh), पावुसो (K), cf. S 18

मो बिन्दुः ॥१२॥ *Anusvāra* is substituted for the final *m*. वृक्षम्=वच्छं; भद्रम्=भद्दं॥ Even Sanskrit inscriptions and Mss' use *anusvāra* in place of the final *m* against the rules of Sanskrit grammar which allows the change only in case of *sandhi* with the following consonant. This is universal in South Indian records and Mss and is no doubt due to Prakrit influence.

अचि मश्च ॥१३॥ When a vowel immediately follows, final *m* may be optionally retained (i e the *sandhi* is allowed optionally). फलम् अपहरति=फलं अवहरइ, फलमवहरइ; किमेतत्=किमेदं, किंएदं॥

नञोर्हलि ॥ १४ ॥ Var. lect नहो॰ (K) ॥ According to Bh., *anusvāra* as well as the final *m* is substituted for the dental and palatal nasals, *n* and *ñ*, when a consonant follows K prefers *n* instead *ñ*, but he speaks only of *anusvāra* and not of the final *m* K—मन्द=मंदं; पङ्क्ति=पंती॥ Bh—विन्ध्य=विंझो, विम्झो; वञ्चणीय=वंचणीय, वम्चणीयं॥ As to the final *m*, Hem (I, 25) supports K, cf "ङ-ञ-ण-नो व्यञ्जने"॥ पराङ्मुख=परंमुहो; कञ्चुक=कंचुओ, षण्मुख=छंमुहो; उत्कण्ठा=उक्कठा, सन्ध्या=संझा॥

वक्रादिषु ॥१५॥ In the words *vakra*, etc, *anusvāra* is inserted as an augment before the conjunct वक्र=वंकं; त्र्यस्र=तंसं; ह्रस्व=हंसो; अश्रु=अंसू; श्मश्रु=मंसू, शुष्टि=सुंठी; मस्त=मंथं, मनस्विनी=मणंसिणी, दर्शन=दंसणं; स्पर्श=फंसो, वर्ण=वंणो, प्रतिश्रुत=पडिंसुदं; अश्व=अंसो; अभिमुक्त=अहिमुंको॥ K शुल्क; पूर्व, शुश्रूषा॥ आकृतिगण॥ Cf Ins. पार्षद=पासंड॥

मांसादिषु वा ॥१६॥ In the words *māṃsa*, etc, the use of the *anusvāra* is optional मास=मंसं, मासं, कथं=कहं, कह; नूनम्=णूणं, णूण; तस्मिन्=तहिं, तहि॥ K मासल; तदानीं; सम्मुख; चमरं॥ आकृतिगण॥ This *Sūtra* is sometimes applied to explain the *anusvāra* optionally added to the terminations of the instr and loc plu. and the neut nom plu, etc. वृक्षैः=वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहि; वृक्षेषु=वच्छेसुं, वच्छेसु; वनानि=वणाइं, वणाइ॥ Bh says that the rule also applies to the cases of any omission or augmentation of *anusvāra* for the sake of the metre

यथि तद्वर्गान्त्यः ॥१७॥ Var. lect. हलि॰ (K.) or झलि॰ or झयि॰ ॥ The *pratyāhāra* called *yay* means the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *h* and the sibilants. K prefers *hal* which includes *h* in the list of consonants. [But the alternate reading *jhay* indicates the first four letters of a *varga* and *jhal* includes in this list *h* and the sibilants] When a consonant, except *h*, *ś*, *sh* and *s* (only *ś*, *sh* and *s*, according to K), follows immediately, the *anusvāra* may optionally become the nasal of the class to which the consonant belongs. शङ्का=सङ्का, संका ; शङ्ख=सङ्खो, संखो ; विन्दु=विन्दु, विंदु ॥ K refers to Sūtras 12-14 and says that this Sūtra applies only to the *cha-varga* and *ta-varga* अयंचन्द्र=अअञ्चन्दो, अअंचन्दो , अअंजक्खो, अअञ्जक्खो ; इदंठाणं. इदण्ठाणं ; इयंनदी=इअण्णई, इअंणई ॥ In the cases of *h* and the sibilants, only the *anusvāra* is to be used. अंश=अंसो ॥

नसान्त-प्रावृट्-शरदः पुंसि ॥ १८॥ Nouns ending in *n* and *s* and the words *prāvṛit* and *śarad* are to be used in the masculine gender (cf S. 6). कर्मन्=कम्मो ; यशस्=जसो ; प्रावृष्=पाउसो (S 11) ; शरद्=सरदो (S. 10) ॥

न शिरोनभसी ॥१९॥ But the words *śiras* and *nabhas* should remain neuter as in Sanskrit. Cf. S. 18. सिरं ; णहं ॥ The rule is optional according to K. There is great confusion of gender in Epigraphic Prakrit.

पृष्ठाक्षि-प्रश्नाः स्त्रियां वा ॥२०॥ The words *pṛishṭha*, *akshi* and *praśna* may be optionally used in the feminine gender. पुट्ठी, पुट्ठं ; अच्छी, अच्छं ; पण्हा, पण्हो ॥ K. पट्ठी, पट्ठं ॥

ओद् अवापयोः ॥२१॥ *O* is optionally substituted for the preposition *ava* and *apa* when in composition. अवहास=ओहासो, अवहासो ; अपसारित= ओसारिअं, अवसारिअं (II. 15) ॥ Cf. Ins अपोसुअ ॥

तल्-त्वयोर् दा-त्तणौ ॥२२॥ The affixes *dā* and *ttaṇa* are respectively substituted for the affixes *tal* and *tva* which are used in Sanskrit to form abstract nouns पीनता=पीणदा ; पीनत्व=पीणत्तणं ॥ Hem. पीणआ, पीणत्तं, पीणिमा, पीणत्तणं ॥

क्त्व ऊणः ॥२३॥ Var lect क्त्वा तूणः (K) ॥ *Ūna* (Bh) or *tūṇa* (K.) is substituted for *ktvā*, the Sanskrit affix of the indeclinable past

participle गृहीत्वा=घेऊण, घेत्तूण ; श्रुत्वा=सोऊण, सोत्तूण ; कृत्वा=काऊण, कत्तूण ; दत्त्वा=दाऊण, दातूण ॥ Hem gives *tum, a, tūna, ūna* and *tuāna*. मोत्तुं, भमिअ, घेत्तूण, काऊण, भेत्तुआण; also कट्टु (AMg.) ॥ Cf कृत्वा=करिदाणि (Māgadhī, XI, 16), करिअ, also कडुअ (Saurasenī, XII, 9–10) ; कातूण or कातूणं (Paiśāchī, X, 23) ॥ Cf VII, 33. Ins दसयित्पा, दसयितु, दर्शेवि । पलितिठ्ठितु, ०जितु । अहा-पयितु । अधिगिन्व्य । चिठितु, निठिति । विजितु, विजिनितु । कट्टु, कृता, करेत्ता, कातुणं, कातून । वेदितु । आगाच । संनंधापयिया । अभिवादेतूणं । अपोसुय । पुयइत । ठपयिचं । कीनिता । पतिगय, ०गच्छ । अचितयिता । घातापयिता । उदिसाय । अभतु । वजिति । दवुतय, उवदाय । अतिछितूण । जानितु, नासूनं, ०ण । परिणमतुन, ०भेतुनं ॥

तृण इरः शीले ॥२४॥ *Ira* is substituted for the affix *trin* signifying habit or disposition Cf V, 31 भ्रमिता=भमिरो, हसिता=हसिरो ; गन्ता=गमिरो ॥

आल्विल्लोल्लालवन्तेन्ता मतुपः ॥२५॥ Var lect आल्विअल्लोल्लवन्तेन्ता० (K.) ॥ The affixes *ālu, illa, ulla, āla* (*ialla* according to K), *vanta* and *inta* (Hem *itta*) are substituted for *matup*, the Sanskrit suffix signifying possession But all the affixes are not known to have been used with all words ईर्ष्यावत्=ईसालु ; निद्रावत्=णिद्दालु ; विकारवत्=विआरिल्लो, विआरल्लो (K), मालावत्=मालाइल्लो, धनवत्=धणिल्लो (K), धणालो, धनवन्तो ; शब्दवत्=सद्दालो, यौवनवत्=जोव्वणवन्तो, रोषवत्=रोसाइन्तो ; प्राणवत्=पाणाइन्तो ॥ K.—अरिअल्लो ॥ Hem adds *ira* and *mana*. गव्विरो, धणमणो ॥ Here there is an interpolated section in Bh which notices a few new rules (1) *A* and *manta* in place of *matup* हनुमत्=हणुमा, हणुमन्तो ॥ (2) Some scholars use *illa* and *ulla* in the sense of *śaishika* affixes (Pān., IV, 2, 92) पौरस्त्य=पुरिल्लं, आत्मीय=अप्पुल्लं ॥ (3) Instead of *kim* etc in the sense of measure (Pān , V, 2), *keddaha*, etc are used कियत्=केद्दह, केत्तिअ (Hem adds केत्तिल, etc), यावत्=जेद्दह, जेत्तिअ ; तावत्=तेद्दह, तेत्तिअ ; एतावत्=एद्दह, एत्तिअ ॥ (4) *Huttam* is sometimes used for the affix *kritvas* (Pān , V, 4, 17) though it is considered to be a provincialism. शतकृत्वस्=सअहुत्तं ॥ (5) The rule regarding the affix *ka* may be an original Sūtra , cf. S. 25A.

स्वार्थे को वा (K) ॥२५क॥ *Ka* may be optionally added to a word without changing its meaning पद्म=पदुमअं (II, 2 , III, 65), पदुमं ॥

विद्युत्-पीताभ्यां लः ॥२६॥ *La* is optionally affixed at the end of the words *vidyut* and *pīta* without changing their meaning. विज्जू, विज्जुली (K. विज्जुला) ; पीअं, पीअलं ॥

पीताद्वश्च (K) ॥२६क॥ According to K., *va* is also added at the end of the word *pīta* without changing the meaning पीतं=पीअवं ॥

वृन्दे वो रः ॥२७॥ Var lect ०द्रो रः (K) ॥ In the word *vṛnda*, *r* is optionally added after *v* (Bh) or *da* (K.) without altering the meaning वृन्द=वन्द्रं, भन्द्रं (Bh), वन्द्रं (K.) ॥

करेण्वां रणोः स्थितिपरिवृत्तिः ॥२८॥ *Sthitiparivṛtti* indicates metathesis. In the word *kareṇū* (fem), meaning a female elephant, the consonants *r* and *n* are transposed. कणेरू ॥

आलाने लणोः ॥२९॥ In the word *ālāna*, the consonants *l* and *n* are transposed. आलान=आणालं ॥ Cf. Ins धर्म=ध्रम ; पूर्व=प्रुव ; पार्षद=प्रषंड ; etc

बृहस्पतौ बहोर्भऔ ॥३०॥ In the word *bṛhaspati*, *bh* and *a* are respectively substituted for *b* and *h*. भअप्फई (*supra* III, 36) ॥ Note that the aspiration of the second sound has been transferred to the first. Cf. Ins बहसति (Pabhosā, Hāthigumphā) ॥

मलिने लिनोरिलौ वा ॥३१॥ In the word *malina*, *i* and *la* are optionally substituted respectively for *li* and *na* मइलं (NIA मयला), मलिणं ॥

गृहे घरोऽपतौ ॥३२॥ *Ghara* is used in the sense of *gṛha* except when it is followed by the word *pati*. घरं ; but गहपई (K), गहवई (Bh) ॥

दाढादयो बहुलम् ॥३३॥ The words, *dāḍhā*, etc., are irregularly used for *daṃshṭrā*, etc. दंष्ट्रा=दाढा ; इदानीं=एण्हिं ; दुहिता=धीआ, धूदा, धूआ (K)., चातुर्य=चातुलिअं (II. 30, III, 20-21), मराहक=मरहरो ; उतपल=कन्दोट्टो (K. कन्दोट्टो), गोदावरी=गोला ; ललाट=णिडाल (I, 3, note ; II, 20, 40 , IV, 28) ; भ्रू=भुमआ ; शक्ति=सित्ती ; नील=णिहेलं ; वारण=दोग्घट्टो ॥ वैदुर्य=वेलुरिअं (K. वेरुलिअं) ; उभय =अवहं ; उभयपार्श्व=अवहोवासं ; चूत=माइन्दो, माअन्दो ॥ K अह ; मई ॥ In this connection, Cowell draws attention to the Sanskrit words धीदा, कन्दोट, निडाल and माकन्द ॥ All words of common speech which are used by con-

vention in different provinces, may be considered as comprehended under this rule. This *gana* is unlimited. Ins पितुच्छा ; तणुवक ; श्रोडिदवो ; देह ; वंति ; कुभा ; परु ; वसवुथान ॥ Originally this rule was possibly meant to comprehend the variations noticed in the interpolated chapters X-XII

NOTES.

Summary Some cases of assimilation (1) Words like *yāvat.* यावत=जाव, जा ॥ (2) Elision of final consonants of a word नभस्=णहं ॥ There is no hard and fast rule for *sandhi* in Prakrit (1) Final *m* of a word is always changed to *anusvāra* मुखम्=मुहं ॥ (2) *M* followed by a vowel फलम् अपहरति=फल अवहरइ, फलमवहरइ ॥ (3) *M* followed by a consonant other than *h* and the sibilants अन्नचन्दो, अन्नश्चन्दो ॥ (4) Augmentation and elision of *anusvāra* वक्र=वंकं ॥ मास=मंसं, मासं ॥ Words ending in *n* and those ending in *s* (excepting *nabhas* and *śiras*) and the words *prāvrsh* and *śarad* are masculine *Prishtha, akshi* and *praśna* are feminine optionally *Taddhita* affixes with a few *krit* ones —ता=दा ; त्व=त्तणं ; मत्=आलु, इल्ल, उल्ल, आल, इअल्ल, वन्त, इन्त, आ, मन्त ॥ वीरता=वीरदा ; वीरत्व=वीरत्तणं ; दयावत्=दयालु ; विकारवत=विआरिल्ल, विआरुल्ल , धनवत=धणालो, धनवन्त ; रोषवत्=रोसाइन्त ; हनुमत्=हणुमा, हणुमन्त ॥ तृ=इर ॥ हसिता=हसिरो ॥ क्त्वा=तूण or ऊण ॥ Metathesis करेणू=कणेरू ; आलान=आणालं ॥ For other *krit* affixes, see ch VII

Corresponding Changes in Pāli *Sandhi (Euphony)* Elision of a vowel followed by a vowel अथ+एको=अथेको ; नोहि+एतं=नोहेत ; यस्स+इन्द्रियानि=यस्सिन्द्रियानि , जम्बु+आदीनि=जम्बादीनि , तयो+अस्सु=तयस्सु ; एसो+आवुसो=एसावुसो ॥ Occasional elision of a vowel after a dissimilar vowel चत्तारो+इमे=चत्तारोमे , पन+इमे=पनमे ॥ Compensatory lengthening of the succeeding vowel after the elision of the preceding one च+अपि=चापि ; च+उभयं=चूभयं , सद्धा+इद्ध=सद्धीद ; तथा+उपम=तथू-

पमं ॥ And occasional lengthening of the preceding vowel. साधु+इति=साधूति ; देव+इति=देवाति ; विज्जु+इव=विज्जूव ॥ But इति+अस्स= इतिस्स ॥ As in Sanskrit, अ, आ+ इ,ई = ए ; अ,आ+उ, ऊ = ओ ॥ But there are exceptions यस्सिन्द्रियानि , तथूपमं ॥ Medial e changed to y when followed by a vowel मे+अयं=म्यायं ; ते+अस्स=त्यस्स ॥ But ने+ आगत=नागत ; मे+अत्थि=मत्थि ॥ Medial o and u changed into v when followed by a vowel खो+अस्स=ख्वस्स ; सो+अस्स=स्वस्स ; सु+आगतं=स्वागतं ॥ But चत्तारोमे ॥ *Dh* sometimes changed to *da* when followed by a vowel. इध+अहं=इदाहं ॥ But इध+एव=इधेव ॥ *I*, *ī* followed by a vowel may be changed to *y* वि+अञ्जनं=व्यञ्जनं ॥ But पञ्चहि+अङ्गेहि=पञ्चहङ्गेहि ॥ *Eva* sometimes becomes *riva* when preceded by a vowel and the vowel if long is shortened यथा+इव=यथरिव, यथेव ; तथा+इव=तथरिव, तथेव ॥ *Ti* followed by a vowel is sometimes changed to *ch* इति+एत=इच्चेत ॥ A vowel followed by a vowel may sometimes remain unchanged. को+इमं=कोइमं ॥ When followed by e or *h*, the *niggahīta* (*anusvāra*) is sometimes changed to *ñ* एवं+हि=एवञ्हि ; तं+हि=तञ्हि, तंहि , तं+ एव=तञ्ञेव ॥ When followed by a vowel, the *niggahīta* becomes *m* or *d*. तं+अहं=तमहं ; एतं+अवोच=एतदवोच ॥ *Rule* य-व-म-द-न-त-र-लाचागमा. ॥ The augments *y*, *v*, *m*, *d*, *n*, *t*, *r* and *l* may intervene between two vowels मा+इदं=मायिदं ; न+इमस्स=नयिमस्स ; भन्ता+उदिक्खति=भन्तावुदिक्खति ; मग्गो+अनेकायतनं=मग्गोवनेकायतनं ; एक+एकं=एकमेकं , येन+इध=येनमिध , सम्मा+एव=सम्मदेव ; सम्मा+अक्खात=सम्मदक्खात ; इतो+आयाति=इतोनायाति ; अज्ज+ अग्गे=अज्जतग्गे ; यस्मा+इह=यस्मातिह ; राजा+इव=राजरिव ; सब्भि+एव=सब्भिरेव ; छ+ अभिञ्ञा=छलभिञ्ञा ॥ Of course, some of the cases show re-instatement of elided consonants of the corresponding Sanskrit words, but some of the augmentations are peculiar to Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit (especially Aśokan) A vowel is sometimes shortened when followed by a consonant. भोवादी+नाम=भोवादिनाम ; यथा+भावी= यथभावी ॥ A consonant after a vowel is sometimes doubled. इध+ पमोदो = इधप्पमोदो ॥ The *niggahīta* when followed by a consonant of a

varga is changed to the last letter of that *varga* तम्हं+करो=तम्हङ्करो ॥ When a vowel follows, *g* is augmented in *putha*. पुथ+एव = पुथगेव ॥ *G* is sometimes augmented in *pā* पा+एव = पगेव ॥ When a vowel follows, *dhi* is changed to *jjh* अधि+ओकासो = अज्झोकासो ॥

Sanskrit *ktvā*=Pāli *tvā, ya, tvāna, tūna, itvā.* कृ—कत्वा, करित्वा, कत्वान, कतून ; चिन्त्—चिन्तिय , भुज्—भुञ्जिय ; नी—नेत्वा ॥ For other *krit* affixes, see Notes on ch VII. Taddhita affixes. अ, आयन, एय्यो, इ, एर, इक, क, ता, त्त, य, आलु, वा, मा, मय, वी, ॥ मागध । वेधवेर । नाविक । ओदरिकत्ता । ०कत्तं । ०क्क । मेधावी ॥ इम—पच्छिम, मज्झिम । ईय—सुचनीय । आयितत्त—धुववत्=धुवायितत्तं । ञ्ञ—वेदनिस्रित, वेदस्थान=वेदञ्ञ । त्तन—वेदनत्तनं । इस्सिक, इय, तर, तम—पापतरो, पापतमो, पापिस्सिको, पापियो, पापिठ्ठो । क्खत्तुं (=कृत्वसुच्)—द्विक्खत्तुं ॥ Hem ईय—अम्हकेरो ; तुम्हकेरो , पाणिणीअ , अम्हेच्चयं ; तुम्हेच्चयं ; परक्कं, पारक्कं , पारकेर ; राइक्कं , रायकेरं , अप्पणयं ॥ Cf Sūtras 22, 23, 25, notes

Hemachandra on Sandhi and Samāsa "दीर्घ-ह्रस्वौ मिथो वृत्तौ [बहुलम्]" ॥१।४॥ In *samāsa*, vowels at the end of the first member may remain unchanged, or the short vowels may be long and the long ones short. The optionality does not apply to some cases सत्तावीसा । जुवइ-अणो । वारि मई, वारीमइ । सिल-खलिअ । जउँणँ-यडं, जउँणायडं ॥ "पदयोः सन्धिर्वा" ॥१।५॥ Sandhi is optional. वासेसी, वास-इसी ॥ It is usually disallowed in the same *pada* (cf पाओ); but sometimes allowed (cf काहिइ, काही) ॥ "न युवर्णस्यास्वे" ॥१।६॥ *I* and *u* are not compounded with the following dissimilar vowel. वि-अवयासो ; बहु-अवऊढो ॥ "एदोतोः स्वरे" ॥१।७॥ *E* and *o* followed by vowels do not form *sandhi*. अहो अच्छरिअं ॥ "स्वरस्योद्वृत्ते" ॥ १।८॥ *Udvritta* is the vowel that is left over when the consonant associated with it is elided. An *udvritta* vowel does not form *sandhi* with the preceding vowel. The rule is optional. निसाअरो । कुम्भआरो, कुम्भारो ॥ But *sandhi* is compulsory in some cases. सालाहणो । चक्काओ ॥ "त्यादेः" ॥ १।९॥ The vowels of conjugational suffixes do not form *sandhi* with the following vowel. होइ इह॥ "लुक् च" ॥१।१०॥ Vowels followed by another are usually dropped. तिअसीसो ॥ Purushottama adds (IV. 10-11) two important rules ; समासे पूर्वनिपातानियमः । निषिद्धोऽपि षष्ठीसमासः । These features are often noticed in inscriptions.

Epigraphic Prakrit. For *sandhi*, see S 1, note and for *ktrā* S. 23, note. *Taddhita* — नातिक, नातिक्य, एतक, यावतक, पनातिक्य, महालक, पारलोकिक, नवकंमिक आचायिक, अकलिक, हिदलोकिक्य, अढकोमिक्य, सुलियिक, उरसक, एकच, वाढतर, कतन्यतर, कंमतर, पश्चदर, पुरिम, पछिम, मझिम, गजतम, दिवसि, परुनर्षि, इमवर्षि, हिदत, पालत, साधव, माढव, सोचाय, चातुदिस, वेपिटक, अपनग, छात, दाराड, दोर्मनस्त(स्य?), धनवती, चिवरिक, चरितनो, पुडनगलते, कुटुंविनि, श्रामणेर, पोत, नासिकक, मिलिमातो, महिमावतो, रुपामयि, तेरन्हुक, अपानेम, अनोमम, पारिहारिक, राजक ०हितत्प, तदात्प, गामिक, पोर, जानपद, वेलामिक, दुतिय, यहिपूविक, अरोगिय, थरोगि, प्रथमटर, चातुव्वेज्ज, वेजयिक, वधनिक, गुमिक, तूथिक, नेग्रिक, गामेयिक ॥ Cf personal names like नाग=नागंन, नागंनक ॥ नागी=नागंनिका ॥

पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ।—लिङ्गविभक्त्यादेशाः ॥

Chapter V—Declension of Nouns

अत ओत् सोः ॥१॥ *O* is substituted for *su* (*vibhakti* for nom sing.) after a word ending in *a* वृक्षः=वच्छो ; कामः=कामो ॥ The *a* is supposed to be elided before *o* by *supra*, IV, 1 Cf. Ins, Apabh. विवादः, विवादम्=विवदु ॥

जश्-शसोर्लोपः ॥२॥ *Jas* (nom plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu) are elided after words ending in *a* वृक्षाः=वच्छा (cf S 11 by which the final *a* becomes *ā*), वृक्षान्=वच्छे (cf. S. 12 by which the final *a* becomes *e*) ॥

अतोऽमः ॥३॥ The *a* of *am* (acc. sing) is elided after words ending in *a*. वृक्षम्=वच्छं (cf *supra*, IV, 12) ॥

टामोर्णः ॥४॥ After words ending in *a*, *ṇa* is substituted for *ṭā* (inst. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu). वृक्षेण=वच्छेण (*infra*, S 12); वृक्षाणां=वच्छाण (also वच्छाणं, *supra*, IV, 16; see also *infra*, S. 11) ॥

भिसो हिं ॥५॥ Var. lect ०हिः (K) ॥ *Him* (or *hi* ; cf. *supra*, IV, 16) is substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृक्षैः=वच्छेहिं (or वच्छेहि) ; cf. S. 12. Hem also gives वच्छेहिँ ॥

ङसेरा-दो-दु-हयः ॥६॥ *Ā*, *do*, *du* and *hi* are severally substituted for *ṅasi* (abl. sing) after words ending in *a*. वृक्षात्=वच्छा (S. 13), वच्छादो ; वच्छादु, वच्छाहि (S. 11) ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes

भ्यसो हिन्तो-सुन्तो ॥७॥ *Hinto* and *sunto* are substituted for *bhyas* (abl plu.) after words ending in *a* वृक्षेभ्यः=वच्छाहिन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो ॥ S. 12 also suggests वच्छेहिन्तो, वच्छेसुन्तो ॥ These two case-affixes are not found in Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit. The Sanskrit abl plu. *ebhyah* (sometimes also the dat plu. in the latter) is represented there by *ebhi* or *ehi* Hem prefers *tto* and *hinto* in both sing and plu., cf *infra*, Notes

ङसो स्सः ॥८॥ *Ssa* is substituted for *ṅas* (gen. sing) after words ending in *a*. वृक्षस्य=वच्छस्स ॥

ङेरेम्मी ॥९॥ *E* and *mmi* are substituted for *ṅi* (loc sing.) after words ending in *a* वृक्षे=वच्छे (S. 13), वच्छम्मि ॥ Cf. Ins स्मि, म्हि etc.

सुपः सुः ॥१०॥ *Su* is substituted for *sup* (loc plu) after words ending in *a*. वृक्षेषु=वच्छेसु (S 12) ॥ Also वच्छेसुं (I V, 16) ॥

जस्-शस्-ङस्याम्सु दीर्घः ॥११॥ For the final *a* of bases ending in *a*, *ā* is substituted before *jas* (nom plu.), *śas* (acc plu.), *ṅasi* (abl sing) and *ām* (gen plu) वृक्षाः=वच्छा ; वृक्षान्=वच्छा (or वच्छे ; S. 12); वृक्षात्= वच्छादो, वच्छादु, वच्छाहि (S 6), वृक्षाणाम्=वच्छाण, वच्छाणं (S 4) ॥

ए च सुप्यङिङसोः ॥१२॥ *E* is substituted for the final *a* of nouns before all the case-affixes (*sup*), except *ṅi* (loc. sing.) and *ṅas* (gen. sing). वृक्षान्=वच्छे (S 2), वृक्षेण=वच्छेण (S. 4), वृक्षैः=वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहि (S 5), वृक्षेषु=वच्छेसु (S. 10) ॥ For the *ā* in वच्छाहिन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो (S. 7), cf optionality indicated by the word *cha* in the Sūtra. In वच्छम्मि (S 9) and वच्छस्स (S 8) the short vowel is retained

क्वचिद् ङसि-ङ्योर्लोपः ॥१३॥ In some cases, the final *a* of the noun is elided before *ṅasi* (abl. sing) and *ṅi* (loc. sing). वृक्षात्= वच्छा (S 6), वृक्षे=वच्छे (S. 9) ॥ In the form of the abl. sing , we have to avoid the necessity of lengthening (S 11), in the form of the loc. sing we have to avoid a word like *vachchhae* The opposite is the case in *vachchhādo*, etc. and *vachchhammi*, cf also VI, 61

इदुतोः शसो णो ॥१४॥ *No* is substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अग्नीन्=अग्गिणो ; वायून्=वाउणो ॥

ङसो वा ॥१५॥ *No* is optionally substituted for *ṅas* (gen. sing.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अग्नेः=अग्गिणो, अग्गिस्स ; वायोः=वाउणो, वाउस्स ॥ For the alternate form, cf. S. 8

जसश्च ओ यूत्वम् ॥१६॥ Var. lect. जसश्च वा ओत्वम् (K.) ॥ In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *o* is substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.), and *ī* and *ū* for the final *i* and *u*. *No* is also optionally used without change of vowel. अग्नयः=अग्गीओ, अग्गिणो ; वायवः=वाऊओ, वाउणो ॥ K. speaks of *o* for both *ṅas* and *jas* and of *a* in the place of *i* and *u*. Nom. plu. and gen. sing. अग्गओ ; वाअओ । अग्गिणो, वाउणो ॥ Also nom. plu. अग्गी, वाऊ ॥

टा णा ॥१७॥ In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *nā* is substituted for *ṭā* (inst sing.) अग्निना=अग्गिणा ; वायुना=वाउणा ॥

सु-भिस्-सुप्सु दीर्घः ॥१८॥ The final *i* or *u* of such nouns is changed for its long vowel before *su* (nom sing), *bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sup* (loc. plu.). अग्निः=अग्गी , वायुः=वाऊ । अग्निभिः=अग्गीहिं (or अग्गीहि) ; वायुभिः = वाऊहिं (or वाऊहि) । अग्निषु = अग्गीसु ; वायुषु = वाऊसु ॥

स्त्रियां शस उदोतौ ॥१९॥ In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are substituted for *śas* (acc. plu). मालाः = मालाउ, मालाओ ; नदीः = नईउ, नईओ ; वधूः = वहूउ, वहूओ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

जसो वा ॥२०॥ In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are optionally substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.). In the alternative, they follow the rules of bases ending in *a* (S. 2). मालाः = मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ; नद्यः = णईउ, णईओ, णई ॥ K ignores S. 19 and reads S. 20 as जसो वा स्त्रियाम् उदोतौ ॥ Nom. plu. मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ॥ etc

अमि ह्रस्वः ॥२१॥ In feminine nouns, the final long vowel is shortened before *am* (acc. sing.). मालाम् = मालं ; नदीम् = णइं ; वधूम् = वहुं ॥

टा-ङस्-ङीनाम् इदेददातः ॥२२॥ Var. lect. टा-ङसि-ङस्-ङीनाम् इदुददावेतः (K.) ॥ In feminine nouns, *i*, *e*, *a* and *ā* are substituted for *ṭā* (inst

sing.), *ṅas* (gen. sing.) and *ṅi* (loc. sing.). नद्या, नद्याः, नद्याम्=णईइ, णईए, णईअ, णईआ ॥ K. adds *ṅasi* (abl sing.) and *u* respectively to the list of case-affixes and that of the substitutes. नद्या, नद्याः, नद्याः, नद्याम्=णईइ, णईए, णईअ, णईआ, नईउ ॥

नातोऽदातौ ॥२३॥ But in the case of feminine nouns ending in *ā*, the substitution of *a* and *ā* (S. 22) do not take place मालया, मालायाः, मालायाम्=मालाइ, मालाए, मालाउ (S. 20, note) ॥ Not मालाअ, मालाआ ॥

आदीतौ बहुलम्॥२४॥ *A* and *ī* are irregularly interchanged as the final letter in feminine words ending in *ā* सहमाना=सहमाणा, सहमाणी, हरिद्रा=हलद्दा (*supra*, I, 13, II, 30), हलद्दी, सूर्पनखा = सुप्पणहा, सुप्पणही ; छाया = छाहा (*supra*, II, 18), छाही ॥

न नपुंसके ॥२५॥ The final vowel of neuter nouns is not lengthened before *su* (nom sing), cf S 18, 30. दधि=दहिं ; मधु=महुं ; हविस्=हविं ॥

इज् जश्-शसोर् दीर्घश्च ॥२६॥ In neuter nouns, *i* is substituted for *jas* (nom plu) and *śas* (acc plu) and the preceding vowel is lengthened. वनानि=वणाइ ; दधीनि=दहीइ, मधूनि=महूइ ॥ For the alternate forms वणाइं, etc , cf *supra*, IV, 16. K. also allows *ī*. वणाई ॥

नामन्त्रणे सावोत्वदीर्घ-बिन्दवः ॥२७॥ When *su* (nom sing) is used in the sense of the vocative, the *o* (S. 1), the long vowel (S. 18) and the *anusvāra* (S. 30) are not allowed in it हे वच्छ ; हे अग्गि ; हे वाउ ; हे वण ; हे दहि ; हे महु ॥ हे विलासिणि ॥

स्त्रियामात एत् ॥२८॥ In the vocative of feminine nouns, *e* is substituted for the final *ā* before *su* (nom. sing.) हे माले ॥ According to Bh., *s* of *su* (whose *u* is dropped by Pāṇ, I, 3 2) is elided by *supra*, IV, 6

ईदूतोर्ह्रस्वः ॥२९॥ In feminine nouns, the final *ī* or *ū* is shortened in the vocative हे नइ ; हे वहु ॥

सोर्बिन्दुर्नपुंसके ॥३०॥ In neuter nouns, *anusvāra* is substituted for *su* (nom. sing.). वणं ; दहिं ; महुं ॥

ऋत आरः सुपि ॥३१॥ *Āra* is substituted for *ṛi* before all the case-affixes (*sup*) in the words ending in *ṛi*. भर्तृ=भत्तार ॥ भत्तारो, भत्तारेण ॥ etc.

मातुरात् ॥३२॥ *Ā* is substituted for the final *ri* of the word *mātṛi* which is then declined like a feminine word ending in *ā*. माता=माआ । मातरम्=माअं । माता, मातुः, मातरि=माआइ, माआए, माआउ (S. 23) ॥ etc.

उद् जश्-शस्-टा-ङस्-सुप्सु वा ॥३३॥ *U* is optionally substituted for the final *ṛi* before *jas* (nom. plu.), *śas* (acc. plu), *ṭā* (inst sing.), *ṅas* (gen. sing.) and *sup* (loc. plu.). In these cases, a word ending in *ṛi* becomes optionally subject to the rules for a word ending in *u*. भर्तृ—भर्तारः=भत्तुणो (S. 14, 16), भत्तारा । भर्तॄन्=भत्तुणो, भत्तारे । भर्त्रा=भत्तुणा (S. 17), भत्तारेण । भर्तुः=भत्तुणो (S 15), भत्तारस्स । भर्तृषु=भत्तुसु, भत्तारेसु ॥ K also gives the form भत्तु for *jas* (nom plu) and *śas* (acc. plu.), and says that the word *bhartṛi* may optionally become *bhaṭṭi* before the above case-affixes

पितृ-भ्रातृ-जामातॄणामरः ॥३४॥ In the words *pitṛi*, *bhrātṛi* and *jāmātṛi*, *ara* is substituted for *ṛi* before all the case-affixes. पितरम्=पिअरं ; पिता=पिअरेण । भ्रातरम्=भाअरं ; भ्रात्रा=भाअरेण । जामातरम्=जामाअरं ; जामात्रा=जामाअरेण ॥ Cf. instances from Epigraphic Prakrit, *infra*, Notes

आ च सौ ॥३५॥ In the words *pitṛi*, *bhrātṛi* and *jāmātṛi*, *ā* is optionally substituted for *ṛi* before *su* (nom. sing.). पिता = पिआ, पिअरो (S. 34) ; भ्राता = भाआ, भाअरो ; जामाता = जामाआ, जामाअरो ॥

राज्ञश्च ॥३६॥ Before *su* (nom. sing), *ā* is substituted for *an* in the word *rājan*. राजा=राआ (*supra*, II, 2) ॥ Cowell believed that the rules regarding the word *rājan* (S 36-44), which were not found in all the Mss. he consulted, are spurious. Excepting S 39 all the other *Sūtras* are however noticed in the versified commentary of K.

आमन्त्रणे वा बिन्दुः ॥३७॥ *Anusvāra* is optionally used in the word *rājan* in the vocative. हे राअं, हे राअ (S. 27) ॥

जश्-शस्-ङसां णो ॥३८॥ In the word *rājan*, *no* is substituted for *jas* (nom plu), *śas* (acc. plu) and *nas* (gen. sing.). The rule is optional according to K राजानः=राआणो (also राइणो in some Mss of Bh and राआ according to K.) । राज्ञः = राआणो (also राइणो in some Mss of Bh. and राआणे according to K) । राज्ञः=राइणो, रण्णो (S 42), also राअस्स (K) ॥

शस एत् ॥३९॥ In the word *rājan*, e is optionally substituted for *śas* (acc. plu) राज्ञः = राए (also राइणो, राआणे, राआणो , S. 38) ॥ This rule is ignored by K. who however gives the form राआणे ॥

आमो णं ॥४०॥ In the word *rājan*, *nam* is substituted for *ām* (gen plu). राज्ञाम्=राआणं (S 4, 11) ॥

टा णा ॥४१॥ In the word *rājan*, *nā* is substituted for *tā* (inst sing) राज्ञा = राइणा, रण्णा (S 42) ॥

ङसश्च द्वित्वं वान्त्यलोपश्च ॥४२॥ In the word *rājan*, the final consonant is either elided or doubled optionally in *nas* (gen. sing) and *tā* (inst sing) राज्ञः = रण्णो, राइणो ; राज्ञा = रण्णा, राइणा ॥ K ignores *tā* (inst sing) and suggests for *nas* (gen sing) the alternate form राणो ॥

इदद्वित्वे ॥४३॥ If the final letter is not doubled, *i* is augmented in the word *rājan* before *tā* (inst sing) and *nas* (gen sing) राज्ञा= राइणा , राज्ञः=राइणो ॥ But when the final letter is doubled, we have रण्णा , रण्णो ॥

आ णोणमोरङसि ॥४४॥ When followed by *no* and *nam*, *ā* is substituted for the *ja* of the word *rājan*, except in the case of *nas* (gen sing) राज्ञ =राआणो ; राज्ञाम्=राआणं ॥ But राज्ञः=रण्णो , राइणो ॥ For the remaining cases, the word is to be declined like a word ending in *a* राअं । राएहिं । राआदो ; राआदु ; राआहि । राआहिन्तो ; राआसुन्तो । राअम्मि ; राए । राएसु ; राएसुं ॥

आत्मनोऽप्पाणो वा ॥४५॥ *Appāna* is optionally substituted for the word *ātman*. अप्पाणो ; also अप्पा (III, 48), अत्ता (III, 2) ॥

इत्व-द्वित्व-वर्जं राजवदात्मनो वेहे ॥४६॥ When the substitution of *appāṇa* does not take place, the word *ātman* is declined in the same way as *rājan* ; but the augmentation of *i* and doubling of the final consonant (S. 42-43) are not allowed in the case of *ātman*. अत्ता, अप्पा ॥ The substitute *appāṇa* is declined in the same way as *vṛiksha*. Cowell considered this Sūtra to be spurious (cf. S 36, note), though it is found in K.

ब्रह्माद्या आत्मवत् ॥४७॥ The words *brahman*, etc , are properly declined like *ātman*. ब्रह्मन्—बम्हा । बम्हाणो ॥ युवन्—जुवा । जुवाणो ॥ अध्वन्—अद्धा । अद्धाणो ॥ etc. Bh. possibly takes *bamhāna* as an alternate form like *appāna*

For some additional rules of declension, see ch VI, 60-64 There is no dual number, and the genitive case-affix is usually employed for the dative; cf VI, 63-64 and notes.

NOTES

Summary. *Declension.* Bases (masc.) ending in *a* वृक्ष ॥१—वच्छो । वच्छा ॥२—वच्छं । वच्छे, वच्छा ॥३—वच्छेण । वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहि (IV, 16) ॥ ५—वच्छादो, वच्छादु, वच्छाहि, वच्छा। वच्छाहिन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो, वच्छेहिन्तो, वच्छेसुन्तो॥ ४,६—वच्छस्स । वच्छाण, वच्छाणं (IV, 16) ॥७—वच्छे, वच्छम्मि । वच्छेसु, वच्छेसुं (IV, 16) ॥ Voc. वच्छ । वच्छा ॥

Bases (masc) ending in *i*. अग्नि ॥१—अग्गी । अग्गीओ, अग्गिणो, अग्गओ, अग्गी ॥२—अग्गिं । अग्गिणो ॥३—अग्गिणा । अग्गीहिं, अग्गीहि ॥५—अग्गीदो, अग्गीदु, अग्गीहि । अग्गीहिन्तो, अग्गीसुन्तो ॥४, ६—अग्गिस्स, अग्गिणो, अग्गओ । अग्गीणं, अग्गीण ॥७—अग्गिम्मि । अग्गीसुं, अग्गीसु ॥ Voc. अग्गि । अग्गीओ, अग्गिणो, अग्गओ, अग्गी ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *u* वायु ॥१—वाऊ । वाऊओ, वाउणो, वाअओ, वाऊ ॥२—वाउं । वाउणो ॥३—वाउणा । वाऊहिं, वाऊहि ॥५—वाऊदो, वाऊदु, वाऊहि । वाऊहिन्तो, वाऊसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वाउणो, वाउस्स, वाअओ । वाऊणं, वाऊण ॥७—वाउम्मि । वाऊसु, वाऊसुं ॥ Voc वाउ । वाऊओ, वाउणो, वाअओ, वाऊ ॥ Voc माले । मालाओ, मालाउ, माला ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *ī*. नदी ॥ १—णई । णईओ, णईउ, णई ॥ २—णइं । णईओ, णईउ, णई ॥ ३—णईइ, णईअ, णईआ, णईए, णईउ । णईहिं, णईहि ॥ ५—णईदो, णईदु, णईहि, णईइ, णईए, णईअ, णईआ, णईउ । णईहिन्तो, णईसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—णईइ, णईअ, णईआ, णईए, णईउ । णईणं, णईण ॥ ७—णईइ, णईअ, णईआ, णईए, णईउ । णईसुं, णईसु ॥ Voc. णइ । णईओ, णईउ, णई ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *ū* वधू ॥ १—वहू । वहूओ, वहूउ, वहू ॥ २—वहुं । वहूओ, वहूउ, वहू ॥ ३—वहूइ, वहूअ, वहूआ, वहूए, वहूउ । वहूहिं, वहूहि ॥ ५—वहूदो, वहूदु, वहूहि, वहूइ, वहूअ, वहूआ, वहूए, वहूउ । वहूहिन्तो, वहूसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वहूइ, वहूअ, वहूआ, वहूए, वहूउ । वहूण, वहूण ॥ ७—वहूइ, वहूअ, वहूआ, वहूए, वहूउ । वहूसुं, वहूसु ॥ Voc. वहु । वहूओ, वहूउ, वहू ॥

Bases (neut.) ending in *a* वन ॥ १, २—वणं । वणाइं, वणाइ, वणाईं ॥ ३—वणेण । वणेहिं, वणेहि ॥ ५—वणादो, वणादु, वणाहि । वणासुन्तो, वणेसुन्तो, वणाहिन्तो, वणेहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वणस्स । वणाणं, वणाण ॥ ७—वणे, वणम्मि । वणेसुं, वणेसु ॥ Voc. वण । वणाइं, वणाइ, वणाईं ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *ṛi*. (1) भर्तृ ॥ १—भत्तारो । भत्तारा, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ २—भत्तारं । भत्तारे, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ ३—भत्तारेण, भत्तुणा, भट्टिणा । भत्तारेहि, भत्तारेहिं ॥ ५—भत्तारादो, भत्तारादु, भत्ताराहि । भत्ताराहिन्तो, भत्तारासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—भत्तारस्स, भत्तुस्स, भत्तुणो, भट्टिणो । भत्ताराणं, भत्ताराण ॥ ७—भत्तारे, भत्तारम्मि । भत्तारेसु, भत्तारेसुं, भत्तूसु, भत्तूसुं ॥ Voc. भत्तार । भत्तारा, भत्तुणो, भत्तू, भट्टिणो ॥ (2) भ्रातृ ॥ १—भाआ, भाअरो । भाअरा ॥ २—भाअर । भाअरे ॥ ३—भाअरेण । भाअरेहिं, भाअरेहि ॥ ५—भाअरादो, भाअरादु, भाअराहि । भाअराहिन्तो, भाअरासुन्तो (also with *ehinto*, *esunto*) ॥ ४, ६—भाअरस्स । भाअराणं, भाअराण ॥ ७—भाअरे, भाअरम्मि । भाअरेसुं, भाअरेसु ॥ Voc. भाअ, भाअर । भाअरा ॥

Bases (fem.) ending in *ṛi* मातृ ॥ १—माआ । माआओ, माआउ, माआ ॥ This is to be declined exactly like माला ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *n* (1) राजन् ॥ १—राआ । राआणो, राआ ॥ २—राअं । राआणो, राए, राआणे ॥ ३—राइणा, रण्णा । राएहिं, राएहि ॥ ५—राआ, राआदो, राआदु, राआहि । राआहिन्तो, राआसुन्तो (also with *ehinto*, *esunto*) ॥

४, ६—राइणो, रएणो, राणो, राअस्स। राआणं, राआण॥ ७—राए, राअम्मि। राएसुं, राएसु॥ Voc. राअ, राअं। राआणो, राआ॥ (2) आत्मन्॥ १—अत्ता, अप्पा, अप्पाणो। अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा॥ २—अत्तं, अप्पं, अप्पाणं। अप्पाणो, अप्पाणे, अप्पाणा॥ ३—अत्तणा, अप्पणा, अप्पाणेण। अत्तेहि, अत्तेहि, अप्पेहि, अप्पेहि, अप्पाणेहिं, अप्पाणेहि॥ ५—अत्ता, अत्तादो, अत्तादु, अत्ताहि, अप्पा, अप्पादो, अप्पादु, अप्पाहि, अप्पाणा, अप्पाणादो, अप्पाणादु, अप्पाणाहि। अत्ताहिन्तो, अत्तासुन्तो, अप्पाहिन्तो, अप्पासुन्तो, अप्पाणाहिन्तो, अप्पाणासुन्तो (also with *ehinto*, *esunto*)॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तणो, अप्पस्स, अप्पणो, अप्पाणस्स। अत्ताणं, अत्ताण, अप्पाणं, अप्पाण, अप्पाणाणं, अप्पाणाण॥ ७—अत्ते, अत्तम्मि, अप्पे, अप्पम्मि, अप्पाणे, अप्पाणम्मि। अत्तेसुं, अत्तेसु, अप्पेसुं, अप्पेसु, अप्पाणेसुं, अप्पाणेसु॥ Voc. अत्तं, अत्त, अप्पं, अप्प, अप्पाण। अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा॥

Declension in Pāli (1) बुद्ध॥ १—बुद्धो। बुद्धा, [बुद्धसे]॥ २—बुद्धं। बुद्धे॥ ३—बुद्धेन, [बुद्धसा, बुद्धसो]। बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि॥ ४—बुद्धाय, बुद्धस्स। बुद्धाणं॥ ५—बुद्धा, बुद्धम्हा, बुद्धस्मा। बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि॥ Cf Ins दत्ता आजीविकेभ्य· = दिना आजीविकेहि॥ and note that dat plu and abl plu. have the same form in Sanskrit ६—बुद्धस्स। बुद्धानं॥ १—बुद्धे, बुद्धम्हि, बुद्धस्मिं। बुद्धेसु॥ (2) मुनि॥ १—मुनि। मुनी, मुनयो॥ २—मुनिं। मुनी, मुनयो॥ ३—मुनिना। मुनीहि, मुनीभि॥ ४, ६—मुनिस्स, मुनिनो। मुनीनं॥ ५—मुनिना, मुनिस्मा, मुनिम्हा। मुनीहि, मुनीभि॥ ७—मुनिस्मिं, मुनिम्हि। मुनीसु॥ (3) भिक्खु॥ १—भिक्खु। भिक्खू, भिक्खवो॥ २—भिक्खु। भिक्खू, भिक्खवो॥ ३—भिक्खुना। भिक्खूहि, भिक्खूभि॥ ४, ६—भिक्खुनो, भिक्खुस्स। भिक्खूनं॥ ५—भिक्खुना, भिक्खुस्मा, भिक्खुम्हा। भिक्खूहि, भिक्खूभि॥ ७—भिक्खुस्मिं, भिक्खुम्हि। भिक्खूसु॥ In the *i*- and *u*-stems, short vowels may be used before *su*, *nam* and *hi* Cf also सत्थारं; सत्थारानं; जन्तू, जन्तवो, जन्तुयो, जन्तुनो; etc. (4) लता॥ १—लता। लता, लतायो। २—लतं। लता, लतायो॥ ३, ५—लताय। लताभि, लताहि॥ ४, ६—लताय। लतानं॥ ७—लताय, लतायं। लतासु॥ (5) नदी॥ १—नदी। नदी, नदियो, नज्जो॥ २—नदिं, नदियं। नदी, नदियो, नज्जो॥ ३, ५—नदिया, नज्जा, [नद्या]। नदीभि, नदीहि॥ ४, ६—नदिया, नज्जा, [नद्या]। नदीनं, [नदीयानं]॥ ७—नदिया, नज्जा, नज्जं, नदियं, [नद्यं]। नदीसु॥ (6) वधू॥ १—वधू। वधू, वधुयो। २—

वधुं । वधू, वधुओ ॥ ३, ५—वधुया । वधूभि, वधूहि ॥ ४, ६—वधूया । वधूनं ॥ ७—वधुया, वधुयं । वधूसु ॥(7) मातृ ॥ १—माता । माता, मातरो ॥ २—मातरं । मातरे, मातरो ॥ ३, ५—मातरा, मातुया, मात्या or मत्या । मातरेहि, मातरेभि, मातूहि, मातूभि ॥ ४, ६—मातु, मातुया, मात्या । मातरान, मातानं, मातूनं, मातुन्नं ॥ ७—मातरि, मातुया, मात्या, मातुयं, मात्यं or मत्यं । मातरेसु, मातूसु ॥ (8) कर्तृ ॥ १—कत्ता । कत्तारो ॥ २—कत्तारं । कत्तारो, कत्तारे ॥ ३, ५—कत्तारा, कत्तुना कत्तारेहि, कत्तारेभि ॥ ४, ६—कत्तु, कत्तुनो, कत्तुस्स । कत्तारानं, कत्तानं, कत्तूनं ॥ ७—कत्तरि । कत्तारेसु, कत्तूसु ॥ (9) आत्मन् ॥ १—अत्ता । अत्तानो, [अत्ता] ॥ २—अत्तं, अत्तानं । अत्तानो, [अत्ते] ॥ ३—अत्तना, अत्तेन । अत्तनेहि, अत्तनेभि, [अत्तेहि, अत्तेभि] ॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तनो । अत्तानं । ५—अत्तना, अत्तस्मा, अत्तम्हा । (same as inst plu) ॥ ७—अत्तनि, [अत्ते] । अत्तनेसु ॥ (10) राजन् ॥ १—राजा । राजानो ॥ २—राजं, राजानं । राजानो ॥ ३—रञ्ञा, राजेन, राजिना । राजूभि, राजूहि राजेभि, राजेहि ॥ ४, ६—रञ्ञो, राजिणो, राजस्स । रञ्ञं, राजूणं, राजाणं ॥ ५—रञ्ञा, राजम्हा, राजस्मा । (same as inst plu) ७—रञ्ञे, राजिनि, राजम्हि, राजस्मिं । राजूसु, राजेसु ॥ (11) श्वा । ७—से, सस्मिं, सम्हि, साने । सासु ॥ (12) गच्छत् ॥ १—गच्छं, गच्छन्तो । गच्छन्तो ॥ २—गच्छन्तं । गच्छन्ते ॥ ३—गच्छता, गच्छन्तेन । गच्छन्तेभि, गच्छन्तेहि ॥ ४, ६—गच्छतो, गच्छन्तस्स । गच्छतं, गच्छन्तान ॥ ५—गच्छता, गच्छन्तम्हा, गच्छन्तस्मा । गच्छन्तेभि गच्छन्तेहि ॥ ७—गच्छति, गच्छन्ते, गच्छन्तम्हि, गच्छन्तस्मि । गच्छन्तेसु ॥ (13) पुमस् ॥ १—पुमा, पुमो । पुमा, पुमानो ॥ २—पुमानं, पुमं । पुमानो, पुमाने, पुमे ॥ ३—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमेन । पुमानेभि, पुमानेहि, पुमेहि, पुमेभि ॥ ४, ६—पुमुनो, पुमस्स । पुमानं ॥ ५—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमा, पुमस्मा, पुमम्हा । (same as inst. plu.) ॥ ७—पुमाने, पुमे, पुमस्मिं, पुमम्हि । पुमानेसु, पुमेसु, पुमसु ।

Declension from Hemacandra. (1) वृक्ष ॥ १, २, ६, ७—(as in PP) ॥ ३—वच्छेण, वच्छेणं । वच्छेहि, वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहिँ ॥ ५—वच्छा, वच्छत्तो, वच्छाओ (Saur ०दो), वच्छाउ (Saur ०दु), वच्छाहिं, वच्छाहिंतो । वच्छत्तो, वच्छाओ, वच्छाउ, वच्छाहि, वच्छेहि, वच्छाहिंतो, वच्छासुंतो, वच्छेहिंतो, वच्छेसुंतो ॥ (2) गिरि ॥ १—गिरी । गिरी, गिरओ, गिरउ, गिरिणो ॥ २, ३—(of अग्नि in PP and वृक्ष in Hem) ४, ६—गिरिणो, गिरिस्स । गिरीण, गिरीणं ॥ ५—गिरिणो, गिरित्तो, गिरीओ, गिरीउ, गिरीहिंतो । गिरित्तो, गिरीओ, गिरीउ, गिरीहिंतो, गिरीसुंतो ॥ Voc. गिरि, गिरी । गिरी,

etc. Note that Hem. does not allow हि as the affix of abl. sing. except in the *a*-stems. (3) तरु ॥ १—तरू । तरू, तरवो, तरओ, तरउ, तरुणो ॥ २, ३, ४, ५, ६, ७—(cf. गिरि in Hem.) ॥ (4) माला ॥ १—(as in PP.) २—मालं । माला, मालाओ, मालाउ॥ ३—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए । मालाहि, etc. (cf. वृच्छ in Hem.) ॥ ४, ६—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए । मालाण, मालाणं ॥ ५—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए, मालत्तो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहिंतो । मालत्तो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहिंतो, मालासुंतो ॥ ७—मालाअ, मालाइ, मालाए । मालासु मालासुं ॥ (5) बुद्धि ॥ १, २—(cf माला in Hem.) ॥ ३—बुद्धीअ, बुद्धीआ, बुद्धीइ, बुद्धीए । बुद्धीहि, etc ॥ ५—बुद्धीअ, बुद्धीआ, बुद्धित्तो, बुद्धीइ बुद्धिए, बुद्धीओ, बुद्धीउ, बुद्धीहिंतो । बुद्धत्तो, बुद्धीओ, बुद्धीउ, बुद्धीहिंतो, बुद्धीसुंतो ॥ ४, ६, ७—(sing. as inst. sing.; for plu., cf माला in Hem.) ॥ (6) पितृ ॥ १—पिआ, पिअरो । पिअरा, पिउणो, पिअवो, पिअओ, पिअउ, पिऊ ॥ २—पिअरं । पिअरे, पिअरा, पिउणो, पिऊ ॥ ३—पिअरेण, पिअरेणं, पिउणा । पिअरेहि, etc., पिऊहि, etc ॥ ४, ५, ६, ७—(पिअर as वृच्छ and पिउ as तरु in Hem.) ॥ (7) राजन् ॥ १—राया । राया, रायाणो, राइणो ॥ २—रायं, राइणं । राये, राया, रायाणो, राइणो ॥ ३—राइणा, रण्णा, राएण, राएणं । राएहि, etc. राईहि, etc. ॥ ४, ६—रण्णो, राइणो, रायस्स । राइण, राइणं, रायाण, रायाणं ॥ ५—रण्णो, राइणो, रायत्तो, etc. । रायत्तो, etc.; राइत्तो, etc (cf गिरि and वृच्छ in Hem.) ॥ ७—राये, रायम्मि, राइम्मि । राईसु, राईसुं, राएसु, राएसुं ॥

Declension in Epigraphic Prakrit In some cases, the *vibhaktis* are adapted to a standard base Note the confusion about the use of gender (1) जन (masc.) १—जन, जनं, जना, जनि, जने, जनो, जनु (C Asia) । जन, जना, जने, जनानि, जनासे (Aśokan; cf Ved. जनासः) ॥ २ जन, जनं, जना, जने, जनों, जनु । जन, जना, जने, जनानि ॥ ३ जनेन, जनेना । जनेहि, जनेहिं ॥ ४—जना, जनाय, जनाये, जनए । जनेहि ॥ ५—जन, जना, जनाहि, जनते, जनदे ॥ ६—जनस, जनसा, जनह (Ceylon) । जनानं, जनानां, जनान, जनाना ॥ ७—जनम्हि, जनंम्हि, जने, जनसि, जनस्पि, जनमि, जनमि । जनेसु, जनेसू ॥ Cf. dat. dual पदेभ्यं in C Asia. (2) फल (neut.) । १, २—फल, फलं, फले, फला, फलो । फलानि, फलानी, फला, फल ॥ (3) पूजा (fem.) । १—पूज, पूजा । पूजा, पूजायो ॥

२—पूजा, पूजं, पूजां ॥ ३—पूजाय, पूजाया, पूजये, पूजाये, पुयए, पुअए। पूजएहि, पूजाहि ॥ ४, ६,—(sing same as inst sing) । पूजानं ॥ ५—(sing same as inst sing) ॥ ७—पूजायं, पूजाय, पूजाये। पूजासु ॥ Cf bases like चावुदसा, पंराडसा for चतुर्दशी, पञ्चदशी; also परिसा, दिसा. etc (4) मुनि, etc ॥ १—सक्यमुनी (असमति neut) । ओसधीनि (masc) ॥ २—Pl. अधिपतये (masc.) ॥ ६—सातकणिस, सातकनिनो, मुने, अधिपतिनो, गहवतिस, सतिनो, मुनिस, पुष्यबुद्धिस्य, ०सिरिनो, ०बोधिनो। आतिनं, आतिना, आतिन ॥ ७—Pl आतीसु, आतिसु ॥ (5) मति, देवी (fem) । १—देवि, देवी। देवि, देवियो, देविनि (cf अनुसथिनि), देविये ॥ २—देवि, देवी, देवि। देवियो ॥ ३, ४—देविय, देविया, देविये, देविअ, देवीय ॥ ५—देविया, देवितो ॥ ६—देविये, देवीये, देवीय। देविना, देविनं, देवीनं ॥ ७—देविये, देवियं, देवि(cf चतुदशि), देव्य, देव्या, देविया, देवीयं। देविसु ॥ (6) साधु (masc.), etc. ॥ १—साधु (also fem and neut.), साधू। धतुओ (neut बहूनि) ॥ ३—साधुना (fem. वासुय)। साधुहि, बहूहि ॥ ५—Pl भिखुहि ॥ ६—इखाकुस, भिक्षुस्य (fem वधुये)। भिखुन, भिखुन, साधूनं ॥ ७—पुनावसुने, बहुने। साधुसु, साधुसु ॥ Cf आगरजुस, सवंभुनो ॥ गो—गोनसा। etc. ॥ (7) पितृ, etc. १—पिता, पित. खता, अपहट, ०हटा, निक्षपयिता। नतारे, नतरो, नती, नति ॥ २—मातरं। मित्रि ॥ ३—पिता, पितिना, जामातरा, भ्राता, भातिना. माता, भदुए, मल, मातुय, मातर. घित्र. धितर, धुतुना, धितुन। मातापितिहि ॥ ४—पितु ॥ ६—मातु, मातुय, मदुपिदु, मतपितु, पितुनो. भ्रतु, भतुणो, भ्रदर, घित, धिता धुतुय, स्रातारस। मदपिदर, मातापितुन, भातिनं, भातीनं, भ्रतुन, मातुन, मतरपितरण, स्पसुन ॥ ७—पितरि. मातरि, मात्रि। पितिसु, पितुसु ॥ (8) Bases in *at* १ भगवं (neut आवते, किय्यं, किय), कत, कत, करोतो, करंतं, महंते, संतो, संतं, पजाव, सिरिमाते, ०मातो, अभिसित-मतो। तिसटंतो, संत ॥ ३—भगवता, हेतु०, शरीर०, भगवद ॥ ६—महतकस, भगवतु. ०वतो, सिरिमतस, महतस, महंतस, अरहतो। वसंतान, महिमावतानं, अरहंतानं ॥ ७—महंते ॥ (9) राजन् etc (masc.) । १—राजा, राज (neut. कंमं, कंमे)। राजानो, राजाने, रजनि ॥ २—राजानं, अतानं (neut. नाम, नामा)। उतरापधराजानो (neut. कंमानि) ॥ ३—रामा, राजिना, अतना, महतना, महात्पेन, कंमन। लाजीहि ॥ ४—कंमाये, कंमने ॥ ५—महात्पा ॥ ६—रञो, राञो, राजिने, रजने, रजिने, रजस, राजिनो, अतने, अतनो, अपनो, अत्वनो, ऽमस, ०धर्मस्य, ०ध्रानस, छ्यमस। महत्मन ॥

७—राजिनि, ०सीमे ॥ Cf युवरञो, धर्मराञो, etc. (10) प्रियदर्शिन, etc. (masc.) १—पियदसि, पियदसी, इस्ति ॥ २—Pl. इथिनि, इथीनि, अस्तिन, अस्तिने, अंतेवासोनि (neut. गामीनि) ॥ ३—पियदसिना, पियदसिन ॥ ६—पियदसिनो, पियदसिने, पियदसिस, पियदसिसा, इथिस, स्वामिस्य, चक्रवतिनो ॥ ७—अंतेवासीसु ॥ (11) अविमनसू etc. ॥ १—Pl. अविमना, अविमन (masc) ॥ २—यसो, भुय, भुये (neut.) ॥ ७—सिरसि ॥ Cf. the declensional forms in Chapters X-XII, Notes.

As to the confusion of number, we have हेमतानं, गिम्हानं as well as वासानं. For the confusion of gender, cf. वरिसानि, संवछरं (nom sing.), खनियं, etc. महासेनापतिनि, महादानपतिनि, etc are interesting feminine forms.

षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ।—सर्वनामविधिः ॥

Chapter VI—Declension of Pronouns and Numerals.

This chapter deals mainly with the declension of pronouns and numerals. The chapter actually forms part of Ch. V In the commentary on PP. by Rāma Pāṇivāda (born 1707 A. D.) both Ch. V and Ch. VI have been given as Ch. V, and it is interesting that only eight chapters (the genuine part of the PP) are commented upon. It is also noteworthy that Rāma Pāṇivāda composed his *Kaṃsavaho* in the language of the original PP., i. e. the so-called Mahārāshṭrī variety of Prakrit speech

सर्वादेर्जस एत्वम् ॥१॥ *Jas* (nom. plu) becomes *e* when it follows the words *sarva*, etc. सर्वे = सव्वे ; ये = जे ; ते = ते ; के = के, कतरे = कदरे ॥

ङेः स्सिं-म्मि-त्थाः ॥२॥ After the words, *sarva*, etc. (S. 1), *ssiṃ*, *mmi* and *ttha* are substituted for *ṅi* (loc sing.) सर्वस्मिन् = सव्वस्सिं, सव्वम्मि, सव्वत्थ ; इतरस्मिन् = इअरस्सिं, इअरम्मि, इअरत्थ ॥

इदमेतत्किंयत्तद्भ्यष्टा इणा वा ॥३॥ After the words *idam*, *etad*, *kim*, *yad* and *tad*, *iṇā* is optionally substituted for *ṭā* (inst sing.). अनेन=इमिणा, इमेण ; एतेन=एदिणा, एदेण ; केन=किणा, केण ; येन=जिणा, जेण ; तेन= तिणा, तेण ॥

आमा एसिं ॥४॥ After the words *idam*, etc. (S. 3), *esim* is optionally substituted for *ām* (gen. plu). एषाम्=इमेसिं, इमाण ; एतेषाम् =एदेसिं, एदाण ; केषाम्=केसिं, काण ; येषाम्=जेसिं, जाण ; तेषाम्=तेसिं, ताण ॥

किंयत्तद्भ्यो ङस आसः ॥५॥ *Āsa* is optionally substituted for *ṅas* (gen sing.) after the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad* कस्य=कास, कस्स ; यस्य= जास, जस्स , तस्य=तास, तस्स ॥ Cf *supra*, I, 17, notes

इद्भ्यः स्सा से ॥६॥ *Ssā* and *se* are substituted for *ṅas* (gen sing) after the pronouns *kim*, *yad* and *tad*, when they are declined like nouns (fem) ending in *i* कस्याः=किस्सा, कीसे ; also कीआ, कीए, कीअ, कीइ, [कीउ] (*supra*, V, 22) । यस्याः = जिस्सा, जीसे ; also जीआ, जीए जीअ, जीइ, [जीउ] । तस्याः = तिस्सा, तीसे , also तीआ, तीए, तीअ, तीइ, [तीउ] ॥

ङेर्हिं ॥७॥ *Him* is optionally substituted for *ṅi* (loc sing) after the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad* कस्मिन् = कहिं ; also कस्सिं, कम्मि, कत्थ (S 2) । यस्मिन् = जहिं, also जस्सिं, जम्मि, जत्थ । तस्मिन् = तहिं ; also तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ ॥

आहे इआ काले ॥८॥ Vai lect ०च काले ॥ *Āhe* and *iā* are optionally substituted for *ṅi* (loc sing) after the above words in the sense of time (cf *Pān* , V, 3, 15) कदा = काहे, कइआ ; also कहिं, etc (S. 7) । यदा=जाहे, जइआ; also जहिं, etc. ॥ तदा=ताहे, तइआ; also तहिं, etc. Hem has also काला, जाला and ताला respectively in these senses.

त्तो दो ङसेः ॥९॥ *Tto* and *do* are substituted for *ṅasi* (abl sing) after the same pronouns कस्मात् = कत्तो, कदो ; यस्मात् = जत्तो, जदो ; तस्मात् = तत्तो, तदो ॥

तद ओश्च ॥१०॥ *O* is optionally substituted for *ṅasi* (abl sing) after the pronoun *tad* तत् = तो ; also तत्तो, तदो (S. 9, cf *supra*, IV, 6) ॥ The *a* is considered to be elided before *o* by IV, 1

ङसा से ॥११॥ *Se* is optionally substituted for the pronoun *tad* together with *ṅas* (gen. sing) तस्य, तस्याः = से ; also for masc तास, तस्स (*supra*, S 5) ॥ Hem allows the form in all the genders for *idam*, *etad* and *tad*.

आमा सिं ॥१२॥ *Sim* is optionally substituted for the word *tad* together with *ām* (gen plu.) तेषां, तासां = सिं ; also ताण (or ताणं), तेसिं (S. 4) ॥ Hem allows the form for *idam, etad* and *tad* in all the genders.

किमः कः ॥१३॥ *Ka* is substituted for the pronoun *kim* when followed by case-affixes. १—को। के ॥ ३—केण। केहिं ॥ etc

इदमः इमः ॥१४॥ *Ima* is substituted for the pronoun *idam* when followed by case-affixes. १—इमो। इमे ॥ ३—इमेण। इमेहिं ॥ etc

स्स-स्सिमोरद्वा ॥१५॥ *A* is optionally substituted for *idam* when followed by the Prakrit case-affixes *ssa* (gen. sing) and *ssim* (loc. sing.) अस्य=अस्स, इमस्स ; अस्मिन्=अस्सिं, इमस्सिं ॥ Cf V, 8, VI, 2.

ङेर्देन हः ॥१६॥ *Ha* is optionally substituted for *ni* (loc sing) together with the *da* of *idam* अस्मिन् = इह ; also अस्सिं, इमस्सिं, इमम्मि (cf. S. 2, 15); but not इमत्थ (cf. S 2, 17) ॥

न त्थः ॥१७॥ *Ttha* is not substituted for *ni* (loc sing.) when it follows *idam* (cf S 2).

नपुंसके स्वमोरिदमिणमिणमो ॥१८॥ When followed by *su* (nom. sing) and *am* (acc. sing.) in the neuter gender, *idam, iṇam* and *iṇamo* are substituted for *idam* together with the case-affixes.

एतदः सावोत्वं वा ॥१९॥ When *etad* is followed by *su* (nom. sing.), the substitution of *o* for *su* is optional Cf *supra*, V. 1 एष. = एस, एसो ॥

त्तो ङसेः ॥२०॥ *Tto* is optionally substituted for *nasi* (abl sing.) when it follows *etad*. Cf. S 21 एतस्मात्, अतः = एत्तो ; also एदादो, एदाडु, एदाहि (cf. V 6) ॥

त्तोत्थयोस्तलोपः ॥२१॥ *Ta* of *etad* is dropped when followed by *tto* (S. 20) and *ttha* (S. 2). एतस्मात = एत्तो ; एतस्मिन् = एत्थ (K. इत्थ) ॥ Cf. *supra*, IV, 6 for the elision of the final *d*.

तदेतदोः सः सावनपुंसके ॥२२॥ *Sa* is substituted for the *ta* of *tad* and *etad* in the masculine and feminine (but not in the neuter) before

su (nom. sing.). सः पुरुषः=सो पुरिसो (Hem also allows स, III, 3)। सा महिला=सा महिला ॥ एसो, एस (S. 19), एसा ॥ Hem (III, 85) allows एस also in the neuter

अदसो दो मुः ॥२३॥ *Mu*, is optionally substituted for the *da* of *adas* before the case-affixes (cf. also *supra*, IV, 6) and the word is declined as a noun ending in *u*. असौ पुरुषः=अमू पुरिसो। असौ महिला=अमू महिला। अमी पुरुषाः=अमूओ पुरिसा। अमूः महिलाः=अमूओ महिलाओ। अदः वनम्=अमुं वणं। अमूनि वनानि=अमुइं वणाइं ॥

हश्च सौ ॥२४॥ *Ha* (which does not admit any case-affix and remains the same in all the three genders) is optionally substituted for the *da* of the pronoun *adas* (cf IV, 6) before *su* (nom sing) अह पुरिसो। अह महिला। अह वणं ॥

पदस्य ॥२५॥ The word *pada* means a word together with its case-affix This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules up to S 53 refer to substitutes of *padas*

युष्मदस्तं तुमं ॥२६॥ *Tam* and *tumam* are substituted for the *pada* *yushmad* + *su* (nom. sing) *Su* comes here from S. 24 त्वम्=तं, तुमं ॥

तुं चामि ॥२७॥ *Tum* is also substituted for *yushmad* + *am* (acc sing) त्वाम्, त्वा=तुं, alternately also तुमं (and तं?) ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K

तुज्झे तुम्हे जसि ॥२८॥ *Tujjhe* and *tumhe* are substituted for *yushmad* + *jas* (nom. plu) यूयम्=तुज्झे, तुम्हे ॥

वो च शसि ॥२९॥ *Vo* is also substituted for *yushmad* + *śas* (acc. plu.) युष्मान्, वः=वो, also तुज्झे, तुम्हे ॥

टाङ्योस्तइ तए तुमए तुमे ॥३०॥ Var lect ०तुए (K.) ॥ *Taï, tae, tumae* and *tume* (*tue* according to K) are substituted for *yushmad* + *ṭā* (inst sing) and *yushmad* + *ṅi* (loc sing). त्वया, त्वयि=तइ, तए, तुमए, तुमे (K तुए) ॥

ङसि तुमो-तुह-तुज्झ-तुम्ह-तुम्मा: ॥३१॥ Var. lect ०तुव-तुमो-तुह-तुज्झ-तुब्भ-तुम्हा: (K.) ॥ *Tumo, tuha, tujjha, tumha* and *tumma* are substituted

for *yushmad+nas* (gen. sing.), i e for *tava, te*. K ignores *tumma*, but adds *tuva* and *tubbha* to the list of substitutes Note that *tumma* is only a modification of *tumha*

आङि च ते दे ॥३२॥ *Ān* of the eastern school of Indian grammarians is the same as *tā* (inst sing) of the western school *Te* and *de* are substituted for *yushmad+ān* (inst sing) and also for *yushmad+nas* (gen. sing) त्वया and तव, ते=ते, दे ॥ Cf S. 31.

तुमाइ च ॥३३॥ *Tumāi* is optionally substituted for *yushmad+ān* (inst sing.). त्वया=तुमाइ ॥

तुज्झेहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं भिसि ॥३४॥ Var lect तुज्झेहि तुम्हेहि भिसि (K) ॥ *Tujjhehim, tumhehim* and *tummehim* are substituted for *yushmad+bhis* (inst. plu). युष्माभि:=तुज्झेहिं, तुम्हेहिं, तुम्मेहिं ॥ K ignores *tummehim* (which is merely a modification of *tumhehi* or *°him*) and prefers *tujjhehi* and *tumhehi* without the final *anusvāra* (cf IV, 16).

ङसौ तत्तो तइत्तो तुमादो तुमादु तुमाहि ॥३५॥ *Tatto*, etc. are substituted for *yushmad+nasi* (abl sing) त्वत्=तत्तो, तइत्तो, तुमादो, तुमादु, तुमाहि ॥

तुम्हाहिन्तो तुम्हासुन्तो भ्यसि ॥३६॥ *Tumhāhinto* and *tumhāsunto* are substituted for *yusmad+bhyas* (abl. plu) युष्मत्=तुम्हाहिन्तो, तुम्हासुन्तो ॥

वो मे तुज्झाणं तुम्हाणमामि ॥३७॥ *Vo*, etc are substituted for *yushmad+ām* (gen. plu.) युष्माकम्, व:=वो, मे, तुज्झाणं, तुम्हाणं ॥

ङौ तुमम्मि ॥३८॥ Var lect. ॰तुमम्मि तुमस्सिं (K) ॥ *Tumammi* is optionally substituted for *yushmad+ni* (loc sing.) For other forms, see S. 30 K. gives two substitutes, viz. *tumammi* and *tumassim*. त्वयि=तुमम्मि, तुमस्सिं ॥

तुज्झेसु तुम्हेसु सुपि ॥३९॥ *Tujjhesu* and *tumhesu* are substituted for *yushmad+sup* (loc. plu). युष्मासु=तुज्झेसु, तुम्हेसु ॥

अस्मदो हमहमहअं सौ ।४०॥ *Ham*, etc., are substituted for *asmad+*

su (nom. sing.). अहम्=हं, अहं, अहअं ॥ For the last form, cf. Māgadhī (XI, 9) *hake, hage, ahake* and Ins *hakaṃ*.

अहम्मिरम्मि च ॥४१॥ Var. lect. म्मिरम्मि च (K.) ॥ *Ahammi* is substituted for *asmad+am* (acc sing) and also *asmad+su* (nom sing) अहम् and माम्, मा=अहम्मि (K म्मि) ॥

मं ममं ॥४२॥ *Maṃ* and *mamam* are substituted for *asmad+am* (acc. sing) माम्, मा=मं, ममं ॥

अम्हे जश्शसोः ॥४३॥ *Amhe* is substituted for *asmad+jas* (nom plu.) and *asmad+śas* (acc plu) वयम् and अस्मान्, नः =अम्हे ॥

णो शसि ॥४४॥ *No* is optionally substituted for *asmad+śas* (acc. plu) अस्मान् , नः=णो ॥ Some Mss read *ṇo* as in Hem , but K. ignores this *Sūtra*

आङि मे ममाइ ॥४५॥ *Me* and *mamāi* are substituted for *asmad+ān* (inst. sing) मया=मे, ममाइ ॥ For the latter form, cf Aśokan ममया, ममिया, etc in Notes below

ङौ च मइ मए ॥४६॥ *Maī* and *mae* are substituted for *asmad+ni* (loc sing) and *asmad+ān* (inst sing) मयि, मया=मइ, मए ॥

अम्हेहिं भिसि ॥४७॥ Var lect अम्हेहि (K) ॥ *Amhehiṃ* is substituted for *asmad+bhis* (inst plu) अस्माभि =अम्हेहिं (K अम्हेहि) ॥

मत्तो मइत्तो ममादो ममादु ममाहि ङसौ ॥४८॥ *Matto*, etc are substituted for *asmad+nasi* (abl sing). मत्=मत्तो, मइत्तो, ममादो, ममादु, ममाहि ॥

अम्हाहिन्तो अम्हासुन्तो भ्यसि ॥४९॥ *Amhāhinto* and *amhāsunto* are substituted for *asmad+bhyas* (abl plu) अस्मत्=अम्हाहिन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥

मे मम मह मज्झ ङसि ॥५०॥ *Me*, etc, are substituted for *asmad+nas* (gen. sing.) मम, मे=मे, मम, मह, मज्झ ॥ Cf. मज्झ<मह्यं>महि (for महियं) in C. Asian documents.

मज्झ णो अम्ह अम्हाणमम्हे आमि ॥५१॥ Var lect. णो अम्ह० (K) ॥

Majjha, etc, are substituted for *asmad+ām* (gen. plu). अस्माकम्, नः=मज्झ, णो, अम्ह, अम्हाणं, अम्हे ॥ Some Mss have *ne* for *no*. K. ignores *majjha*; but Hem has *ne*, *no*, *majjha*, *amha*, *amham*, *amhe*, *amho*, *amhāna*, *mamāna* and *mahāna*

ममम्मि ङौ ॥५२॥ Var lect ममम्मि ममस्सिं ङौ (K) ॥ *Mamammi* is substituted for *asmad+ni* (loc. sing.). मयि=ममम्मि (K. also ममस्सिं) ॥ Cf. S 46

अम्हेसु सुपि ॥५३॥ *Amhesu* is substituted for *asmad+sup* (loc. plu). अस्मासु=अम्हेसु ॥

द्वेर्दो ॥५४॥ *Do* is substituted for *dvi* before *sup*, i e all the case-affixes द्वाभ्याम्=दोहिं ; द्वयो=दोसु ॥ Cf S. 57.

त्रेस्तिः ॥५५॥ *Ti* is substituted for *tri* before all the case-affixes and the word is declined like a noun ending in *i*. त्रिभिः (fem तिसृभिः) =तीहिं, त्रिषु (fem. तिसृषु)=तीसु ॥ Cf. V, 18; VI, 60.

तिण्णि जश्शस्भ्याम् ॥५६॥ *Tinni* is substituted for *tri+jas* (nom plu.) and *tri+śas* (acc. plu.). त्रय., त्रीन् (neut.त्रीणि ; fem तिस्रः)= तिण्णि ॥

द्वेर्दुवे दोण्णि वा ॥५७॥ *Duve* and *donni* are optionally substituted for *dvi+jas* (nom plu.) and *dvi+śas* (acc. plu) द्वौ (fem and neut. द्वे)=दुवे, दोण्णि ॥ Cf. S 54.

चतुरश्चत्तारो चत्तारि ॥५८॥ *Chattāro* and *chattāri* are substituted for *chatur+jas* (nom plu.) and *chatur+śas* (acc plu.) चत्वारः (neut. चत्वारि ; fem. चतस्रः)=चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥

एषामामो ण्हं ॥५९॥ *Nham* is substituted for *ām* (gen. plu) after the words *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*. द्वयोः=दोण्हं ; त्रयाणाम्, तिसृणाम्=तिण्हं ; चतुर्णाम्, चतसृणाम्=चतुण्हं or चउण्हं ॥ K. ignores the *anusvāra* in *donham*, etc.

शेषोऽदन्तवत् ॥६०॥ The rest of the rules regarding declension

are the same as those for words ending in *a*. As for instance, the rule *bhiso him* (V, 5) given for words ending in *a*, should also apply to masculine words ending in *i* and *u* (e.g. अग्गीहिं, वाऊहिं, etc.), and to feminine words ending in *ā*, *ī* and *ū* (e.g. मालाहिं, णईहिं, वहूहिं, etc.; cf. V, 19), and also to numerals (e.g., दोहिं, तीहिं, चऊहिं, etc.; cf. S. 54-55.).

न ङिङस्योरेदातौ ॥६१॥ *E* and *ā* are not substituted respectively for *ṅi* (loc. sing.) and *ṅasi* (abl. sing.) in the case of nouns ending in *i* and *u*. Cf. V, 6 and 9 अग्नौ=अग्गिम्मि ; वायौ=वाउम्मि । अग्नेः=अग्गीदो, अग्गीदु, अग्गीहि ; वायोः=वाऊदो, वाऊदु, वाऊहि ॥

ए भ्यसि ॥६२॥ *E* (also *ā*?) is not substituted for the final vowel of nouns ending in *i* and *u*, when *bhyas* (abl. plu.) follows. Cf. V, 7 and 12 अग्निभ्यः=अग्गीहिन्तो, अग्गीसुन्तो ; वायुभ्यः=वाऊहिन्तो, वाऊसुन्तो ॥

द्विवचनस्य बहुवचनम् ॥६३॥ The plural must be used instead of the dual in all cases both for the cases of nouns and for the forms of verbs. वृक्षौ=वच्छा ; वृक्षाभ्याम्=वच्छेहिं ; तिष्ठतः=चिट्ठन्ति ॥ There are violations, though very rare, of this rule in Epigraphic Prakrit.

चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी ॥६४॥ The genitive case-affix must be used instead of the dative ब्राह्मणाय=बम्हणस्स , ब्राह्मणेभ्यः=बम्हणाण ॥ Note that in the earlier stage of the language as represented by Pāli and inscriptions, the dative is sometimes found to be used, but the former uses dative forms only in the singular. Hem. also notices that occasionally dat. sing. forms are used in Prakrit. He also allows gen. for acc., inst., abl. and loc., loc. for acc. and instr., loc. and instr. for abl., and acc. for loc. He further says that in AMg. sometimes inst. is used for loc., and acc. is used for nom. Hem.'s additional rules are: "[चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी] तादर्थ्यङेर्वा" ॥३।१३२॥ देवाय=देवस्स, देवाय ॥ "वधाड्डाइश्च वा" ॥३।१३३॥ वधार्थम्=वहाइ, वहस्स, वहाय ॥ "क्वचिद्द्वितीयादेः" ॥३।१३४॥ २—सीमाधरस्स वन्दे । ३—धनेन लब्धः=धणस्स लद्धो ; चिरेण मुक्ता=चिरस्स मुक्का । ४—चोराद्बिभेति=चोरस्स बीहइ । ७—पृष्ठे (पिट्ठस्स?)केसभारो ॥ "द्वितीयातृतीययोः सप्तमी" ॥३।१३५॥

२—गामे न जामि । ३—विभिस्तैरलङ्कृता पृथिवी=तिहु तेहु अलंकिआ पुहवी ॥ "पञ्चम्या-स्तृतीया च [सप्तमी च] ॥३।१३६॥ ३—चोरेण बीहइ । ७—अन्तःपुराद् रन्त्वा आगतो राजा=अन्तेउरे रमिउमागओ राया ॥ "सप्तम्या द्वितीया" ॥३।१३७॥ विद्युद्योतं स्मरति रात्रौ=विज्जुज्जोयं भरइ रत्तिं ॥ "आर्षे तृतीयापि" ॥ तस्मिन् काले=तेणं कालेणं ॥ "प्रथमाया अपि द्वितीया" ॥ चउवीसं पि जिणवरा ॥

NOTES

Summary. *Declension of Pronouns.* (1) सर्व ॥ (a) Masc १—सव्वो । सव्वे ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वे ॥ ३—सव्वेण । सव्वेहिं, सव्वेहि ॥ ५—सव्वादो, सव्वादु, सव्वाहि । सव्वाहिन्तो, सव्वासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—सव्वस्स । सव्वाणं, सव्वाण ॥ ७—सव्वस्सिं, सव्वम्मि, सव्वत्थ । सव्वेसुं, सव्वेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—सव्वा । सव्वाओ, सव्वाउ, सव्वा ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वाओ, सव्वाउ ॥ ३—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए । सव्वाहिं, सव्वाहि ॥ ४, ६—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए । सव्वाणं, सव्वाण ॥ ५—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए, सव्वादो, सव्वादु, सव्वाहि । सव्वाहिन्तो, सव्वासुन्तो ॥ ७—सव्वाइ, सव्वाए । सव्वासुं, सव्वासु ॥ (c) Neut १, २—सव्वं । सव्वाइं, सव्वाइ, सव्वाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc (2) इदम् ॥ (a) Masc १—इमो । इमे ॥ २—इमं । इमे ॥ ३—इमेण, इमिणा । इमेहिं, इमेहि ॥ ५—इमादो, इमादु, इमाहि । इमाहिन्तो, इमासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—इमस्स, अस्स । इमाणं, इमाण, इमेसिं ॥ ७—इमस्सिं, इमम्मि, अस्सिं, इह । इमेसुं, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem १—इमा । इमाओ, इमाउ, इमा ॥ २—इमं । इमाओ, इमाउ ॥ ३—इमाइ, इमाए । इमाहिं, इमाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (fem.) (c) Neut १, २—इदं, इणं, इणमो । इमाइं, इमाइ, इमाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc (3) किम् ॥ (a) Masc. १—को । के ॥ २—कं । के ॥ ३—केण, किणा । केहिं, केहि ॥ ५—कदो, कत्तो । काहिन्तो, कासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—कस्स, कास । काणं, काण, केसि ॥ ७—कस्सिं, कम्मि, कत्थ, कहिं, कस्सि, काहे, कइआ ॥ केसुं, केसु ॥ (b) Fem १—का । काओ, काउ, कीओ, कीउ ॥ २—कं । plu. as nom plu ॥ ३—कीणा, काए, काइ, कीए, कीइ, कीअ, कीआ । काहिं, काहि, कीहिं, कीहि ॥ ५—कादो, कादु, कीदो कीदु, also inst. sing. forms except *kinā*. । काहिन्तो, कासुन्तो, कीहिन्तो, कीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—कस्सा, किस्सा, कासे, कीसे, कीए, कीइ, कीअ, कीआ, काइ, काए । कासा, केसि, कासिं, काणं, काण, कीणं, कीण, कीसिं ॥ ७—काए, काइ, कीए, कीइ, कीअ, कीआ, काहे, कइआ । कासुं, कासु, कीसुं, कीसु ॥

(c) Neut १, २—कं। काइं, काइ, काणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (4) यद् ॥ (a) Masc १—जो। जे ॥ २—जं। जे ॥ ३—जेण, जिणा। जेहिं, जेहि ॥ ५—जत्तो, जदो। जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जस्स, जास। जाणं, जाण, जेसिं ॥ ७—जस्सिं, जम्मि, जत्थ, जहिं, जाहे, जइआ, जस्सि। जेसुं, जेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—जा। जाओ, जाउ, जीओ, जीउ ॥ २—जं। as nom. plu. ॥ ३—जीणा, जाए, जाइ, जीइ, जीए, जीअ, जीआ। जाहिं, जाहि, जीहिं, जीहि ॥ ५—जादो, जादु, जीदो, जीदु, also inst. sing. forms except *jinā*। जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो, जीहिन्तो, जीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जस्सा, जिस्सा, जासे, जीसे, जीए, जीइ, जीअ, जीआ, जाइ, जाए। जासां, जेसिं, जासिं, जाणं, जाण, जीणं, जीण, जीसिं ॥ ७—जाए, जाइ, जीए, जीइ, जीअ, जीआ, जाहे, जइआ। जासुं, जासु, जीसुं, जीसु ॥ (c) Neut १, २—जं। जाइं, जाइ, जाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (5) तद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—सो। ते ॥ २—तं। ते ॥ ३—तेण, तिणा। तेहिं, तेहि ॥ ५—तत्तो, तदो, तो। ताहिन्तो, तासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तस्स, तास, से। तेसिं, ताणं, ताण, सिं ॥ ७—तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ, तहिं, ताहे, तइआ, तस्सि। तेसुं, तेसु ॥ (b) Fem १—सा। ताओ, ताउ, तीओ, तीउ ॥ २—तं। as nom plu ॥ ३—ताइ, ताए, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, तीणा। ताहिं, ताहि, तीहिं, तीहि ॥ ५—तादो, तादु, तीदो, तीदु, also inst. sing. forms except *tinā*। ताहिन्तो, तासुन्तो, तीहिन्तो, तीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तस्सा, तिस्सा, तासे, तीसे, ताए, ताइ, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, से। तासा, तेसिं, तासिं, ताण, ताण, तीणं, तीण, तीसिं, सिं ॥ ७—ताए, ताइ, तीए, तीइ, तीअ, तीआ, ताहे, तइआ। तासुं, तासु, तीसुं, तीसु ॥ (c) Neut १, २—तं। ताइं, ताइ, ताणि। The rest is as in masc. (6) एतद् ॥ (a) Masc १—एस, एसो। एदे ॥ २—एदं। एदे ॥ ३—एदेण, एदिणा। एदेहिं, एदेहि ॥ ५—एत्तो, एदादो, एदादु, एदाहि। एदाहिन्तो, एदासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—एदस्स। एदेसिं, एदाणं, एदाण ॥ ७—एदस्सिं, एदम्मि, एत्थ, इत्थ। एदेसुं, एदेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—एसा। एदाओ, एदाउ ॥ २—एदं। एदाओ, एदाउ ॥ ३—एदाइ, एदाए। एदाहिं, एदाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (fem.) and इदम् (fem). (c) Neut १, २—एदं। एदाइं, एदाइ, एदाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc (7) अदस् ॥ (a) Masc १—अमु, अह। अमूओ, अमुणो ॥ २—अमुं। अमू, अमुणो, अमू ॥ ३—अमुणा। अमूहिं, अमूहि ॥ ५—अमूदो, अमूदु, अमूहि। अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥

४, ६—अमुणो, अमुस्स । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—अमुस्सिं, अमुम्मि, अमुत्थ । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—अमू, अह । अमूओ, अमूउ, अमू ॥ २—अमुं । अमूओ, अमूउ, अमू ॥ ३—अमूए, अमूइ, अमूअ, अमूआ । अमूहिं, अमूहि ॥ ५—अमूदो, अमूदु, अमूहि, also inst. sing forms । अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—as inst. sing. । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—as inst. sing. । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (c) Neut. १—अह, अमुं । अमूइं, अमूइ, अमूणि ॥ २—अमुं । अमूइ, अमूणि ॥ The rest is as in masc (8) युष्मद् ॥ १—तुमं, तं । तुज्झे, तुम्हे ॥ २—तं(?), तुं, तुमं । तुज्झे, तुम्हे, वो ॥ ३—तइ, तए, तुए, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ, ते, दे । तुज्झेहिं, तुज्झेहि, तुम्हेहिं, तुम्हेहि, तुम्मेहिं ॥ ५—तत्तो, तइत्तो, तुमादो, तुमादु, तुमाहि । तुम्हाहिन्तो, तुम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तुमो, तुह, तुज्झ, तुम्म, तुम्ह, ते, दे, तुव । वो, मे, तुज्झाणं, तुम्हाणं ॥ ७—तइ, तए, तुए, तुमए, तुमे, तुमम्मि, तुमस्सिं । तुज्झेसु, तुम्हेसु ॥ (9) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं, हं, अहअं, अहम्मि, मि । अम्हे (Saur. वअं) ॥ २—मं, ममं, अहम्मि, मि । अम्हे, णो, णे ॥ ३—मे, मए, मइ, ममाइ । अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ५—मत्तो, मइत्तो, ममादो, ममादु, ममाइ । अम्हाहिन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मम, मह, मज्झ । णो, अम्ह, अह्माणं, अम्हे, मज्झ, अम्हो ॥ ७—मइ, मए, ममम्मि, ममस्सिं । अम्हेसु ॥

Declension of Numerals. (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दो, दुवे, दोण्णि ॥ ३—दोहिं ॥ ५—दोहिन्तो, दोसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—दोण्हं, ०ण्ह ॥ ७—दोसु ॥ (2) त्रि ॥ १, २—तिण्णि ॥ ३—तीहिं ॥ ४, ६—तिण्हं, ०ण्ह ॥ ५—तीहिन्तो, तीसुन्तो ॥ ७—तीसु ॥ (3) चतुर् ॥ १, २—चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥ ३—चऊहिं, चतूहिं ॥ ५—चऊहिन्तो, चऊसुन्तो, चतूसुन्तो, चतूहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—चउण्हं, ०ण्ह, चतुण्हं, ०ण्ह ॥ ७—चऊसु, चतूसु ॥

Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Hemachandra *Pronouns* (1) सर्व (masc.) ॥ १—as in PP. ॥ २—सव्वं । सव्वे, सव्वा ॥ ३—सव्वेण, सव्वेणं । सव्वेहि, सव्वेहिं, सव्वेहिँ ॥ ५—सव्वत्तो, etc as in वृक्ष । सव्वत्तो, etc. as in वृक्ष ॥ ४, ६—सव्वस्स । सव्वेसिं, सव्वाण, सव्वाणं ॥ ७—सव्वस्सिं, सव्वम्मि, सव्वहिं, सव्वत्थ । सव्वेसु, सव्वेसुं ॥ (2) तद् (masc.) ॥ १—स, सो । ते, णे ॥ २—तं, णं । ते, ता, णे, णा ॥ ३—तेण, णेण, तिणा । तेहिं, etc , णेहिं, etc. ॥ ५—तम्हा, ताओ, तो, तत्तो, तदो, तओ । तेहिं, etc ॥ ६—तस्स, तास, से । ताम, तेसिं, सिं ॥ ७—तस्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ, ताहे, ताला, तइआ । तेसु, तेसुं, णेसु, णेसुं ॥ *Yad*

becomes *ja* (fem. *jā*, and in some cases *jī*); *kim*=*ka* (fem. *kā*, and in some cases *kī*), *idam*=*ima*; *etad*=*eya*, *ea* These are declined like *sarva*. The peculiar forms are noticed below. *Kim* has in abl. sing. *kino* and *kīsa* *Idam* (masc) has *ayam* and *imo* in nom. sing It has in fem. nom sing. *imiyā* and *imā*; in masc acc sing. *inam* and *imam*, in gen sing *assa* and *imassa*, in loc. sing *assiṁ*, *imassiṁ* and *iha*, etc. It has also the defective forms from the base *ṇa* (cf. *tad*) in acc sing and plu and in inst sing and plu णं। णे॥ णेण। णेहिं॥ *Etad*+*su*=*esa*, *eso*, *inam*, *inamo*, *eam*, *esā*. *Idam*, *tad* and *etad* have in gen. sing *se* and in gen. plu. *sim*. *Etad*+*nasi* =*ettāhe* *Adas*+*su*=*amu*, *aha*; masc. loc sing *ayammi*, *iyammi*, *amummi*

युष्मद् ॥ १—तं, तुं, तुवं, तुह, तुम। मे, तुब्भे, तुज्झ, तुम्ह, तुय्हे, उय्हे, तुम्हे. तुज्झे ॥ २—तं, तुं, तुमं, तुवं, तुह, तुमे, तुए। वो, तुज्झ, तुब्भे, तुय्हे, उय्हे, भे ॥ ३—भे, दि, दे, ते, तइ, तए, तुमं, तुमइ, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ। भे, तुब्भेहिं, उज्झेहिं, उम्हेहिं, तुय्हेहिं, उय्हेहिं तुम्हेहिं, तुज्झेहिं ॥ ५—(*tto*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *ā* are to be added to the five bases तइ, तुव, तुम, तुह, and तुब्भ and to तुम्ह and तुज्झ to get the forms), तइत्तो, etc (*hi*, *ā* are not allowed with तइ), तुवत्तो, etc, तुमत्तो, etc, तुहत्तो etc., तुब्भत्तो, etc, तुम्हत्तो, etc., तुज्झत्तो, etc., also तत्तो, also तुय्ह, तुब्भ, तहिन्तो, तुम्ह, तुज्झ। (*tto*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *sunto* are to be added to the bases तुब्भ, तुय्ह, उम्ह. उय्ह, तुम्ह and तुज्झ to get the forms) ॥ ४, ६—तइ, तु, ते, तुम्हं, तुह, तुहं, तुव, तुम, तुमे, तुमो, तुमाइ, दि, दे, इ, ए, तुब्भ, उब्भ, उम्ह, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, उम्ह, उज्झ। तु, वो, भे, तुब्भ, तुब्भं, तुब्भाण, तुवाण, तुमाण, तुहाण, उम्हाण, तुब्भाणं, तुवाणं, तुमाणं, तुहाणं, उम्हाणं, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, तुम्हं, तुज्झं, तुम्हाणं, तुम्हाण, तुज्झाणं, तुज्झाण ॥ ७—तुमे, तुमए, तुमाइ. तइ, तए, also other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases तु, तुव, तुम. तुह, तुब्भ, तुम्ह and तुज्झ, e g, तुम्मि, etc। forms by adding *su* to तु, तुव. तुम. तुह, तुब्भ, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, e g तुसु, तुवसु, तवेसु, etc ॥ अस्मद् ॥ १—म्मि, अम्मि, अम्हि, हं, अहं, अहयं। अम्ह, अम्हे, अम्हो, मो, वयं, भे ॥ २—णे, णं, मि, अम्मि, अम्ह, मम्ह, मं, ममं, मिमं, अहं। अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्ह, णे ॥ ३—मि, मे, मम, ममए, ममाइ, मइ, मए, मयाइ, णे। अम्हेहि,

अम्हाहि, अम्ह, अम्हे, णे ॥ ५—forms by adding *tto, do, du, hi, hinto* and *ā* to the four bases मइ, मम, मह, मज्झ, e g., मइत्तो, etc (*hi, ā* are not allowed with मइ), ममत्तो, etc., also मत्तो। ममत्तो, अम्हत्तो, ममाहिन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो, ममासुन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो, ममेसुन्तो, अम्हेसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मइ, मम, मह, मइं, मज्झ, मज्झं, अम्ह, अम्हं। णे, णो, मज्झ, अम्ह, अम्हं, अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्हाण, ममाण, महाण, मज्झाण, also अम्हाणं, etc. ॥ ७—मि, मइ, ममाइ, मए, मे, other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases अम्ह, मम, मह, मज्झ, e.g., अम्हम्मि, etc. ॥ अम्हेसु, ममेसु, महेसु, मज्झेसु; also अम्हसु, etc, also अम्हासु etc. ॥

Numerals. एक=एक, एग; declined in sing like वृक्ष ॥ द्वि becomes दो or वे; in nom and acc. दुवे, दोण्णि, वेण्णि; inst. दोहिं, वेहिं; abl. दोहिंतो, वेहिंतो; gen. दोण्हं, वेण्हं; loc. दोसु, वेसु ॥ त्रि=ती ॥ चतुर् has in nom. and acc. चत्तारो, चउरो, चत्तारि; and चऊहिं, चऊहिंतो, चउण्हं, चऊसु respectively in the remaining case-affixes.

Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Pāli. *Pronouns.* (1) सर्व ॥ (a) Masc. १—सब्बो। सब्बे ॥ २—सब्बं। सब्बे ॥ ३—सब्बेन। सब्बेभि, सब्बेहि ॥ ५—सब्बम्हा, सब्बस्मा। सब्बेभि, सब्बेहि ॥ ४, ६—सब्बस्स। सब्बेसं, सब्बेसानं ॥ ७—सब्बम्हि, सब्बस्मिं। सब्बेसु ॥ Voc सब्ब, सब्बा। सब्बा ॥ (b) Fem १—सब्बा। सब्बा, सब्बायो ॥ २—सब्बं। सब्बा, सब्बायो ॥ ३, ५—सब्बाय। सब्बाभि, सब्बाहि ॥ ४, ६—सब्बस्सा, सब्बाय। सब्बासं, सब्बासानं ॥ ७—सब्बस्सं, सब्बायं। सब्बासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—सब्बं। सब्बानि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (2) एतद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—एसो। एते ॥ २—एतं, एनं। एते ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (masc.), i.e., एत as सब्ब ॥ (b) Fem. १—एसा। एता, एतायो ॥ २—एतं। एता, एतायो ॥ ३, ५—एताय। एताभि, एताहि ॥ ४, ६—एतिस्साय, एतिस्सा, एताय। एतासं, एतासानं ॥ ७—एतिस्सं, एतस्सं, एतायं। एतासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—एतं। एते, एतानि ॥ (3) तद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—सो। ते, ने ॥ २—तं, नं। ते, ने ॥ ३—तेन, नेन। तेभि, तेहि, नेभि, नेहि ॥ etc The rest of both the bases त and न is as सर्व (masc.)। (b) Fem. १—सा। ता, तायो ॥ तं, नं। ता, तायो ॥ ३, ५—ताय, नाय, [तस्सा, नस्सा, अस्सा]। ताभि, ताहि, नाभि,

नाहि ॥ ४, ६—[तस्साय], तस्सा, [नस्साय, नस्सा], ताय, [नाय, अस्साय, अस्सा], तिस्साय, तिस्सा। तासं, तासानं, [नासं, नासानं, आसं, आसानं, सानं] ॥ ७—तस्सं, [तस्सा, नस्सं, नस्सा, अस्सं, अस्सा], तिस्सं, [तिस्सा, तायं, ताय, नायं, नाय]। तासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तं, नं। ते, तानि, ने ॥ (4) इदम् ॥ (a) Masc. १—अयं। इमे ॥ २—इमं। इमे ॥ ३—अनेन, इमिना। एभि, एहि, इमेभि, इमेहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्स, इमस्स। एसं, एसानं, इमेसं, इमेसानं ॥ ५—अस्सा, इमम्हा। plu. as inst. plu. ॥ ७—अस्मिं, इमस्मिं, इमम्हि। एसु, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—अयं। इमा, इमायो ॥ २—इमं। इमा, इमायो ॥ ३, ५—इमाय। इमाभि, इमाहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्साय, अस्सा, इमिस्साय, इमिस्सा, इमाय। इमासं, इमासानं ॥ ७—अस्सं, इमिस्सं, इमायं। इमासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—इदं, इमं। इमे, इमानि ॥ (5) युष्मद् ॥ १—त्वं, तुवं। तुम्हे ॥ २—तं, तवं, तुवं, त्वं। तुम्हाकं, तुम्हे ॥ ३, ५—त्वया, तया। तुम्हेहि, तुम्हेभि ॥ ४, ६—तव, तुम्हं, तुम्हं। तुम्हाकं, तुम्हं ॥ ७—त्वयि, तयि। तुम्हेसु ॥ (6) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं। मयं, अम्हे ॥ २—मं, ममं। अम्हाकं, अम्हे ॥ ३, ५—मया। अम्हेभि, अम्हेहि ॥ ४, ६—मम, मय्हं, अम्हं, ममं। अम्हाकं, अम्हं ॥ ७—मयि। अम्हेसु ॥

Numerals. (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दुवे, द्वे ॥ ३, ५—द्वीभि, द्वीहि ॥ ४, ६—द्विन्नं, दुविन्नं, [द्विन्नं] ॥ ७—द्वीसु ॥ (2) त्रि ॥ (a) Masc. १, २—तयो ॥ ३, ५—तीभि, तीहि ॥ ४, ६—तिण्णं, तिण्णन्नं ॥ ७—तीसु ॥ (b) Fem. १, २—तिस्सो ॥ ४, ६—तिस्सन्नं ॥ (c) Neut १, २—तीनि ॥ (3) चतुर् ॥ (a) Masc १, २—चत्तारो, चतुरो ॥ ३, ५—चतूभि, चतूहि ॥ ४, ६—चतुन्नं ॥ (b) Fem १, २—चतस्सो ॥ ४, ६—चतस्सन्नं, [चतुन्नं, चतस्सन्नन्नं]। (c) Neut १, २—चत्तारि ॥

Epigraphic Prakrit. *Pronouns* Forms noticed in records of different periods are given. There is great confusion in regard to gender (1) अस्मद्। १—अहं, हकं, अहो। मये, अम्हो, अम्हे ॥ २—मं। अफे, अफेनि ॥ ३—मया, ममया (Hem, III, 109), मे, ममाये, ममिया, ममियाये, मम, ममा, हमियाये। अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ५—ममते ॥ ६—मम, मे, ममा, मभ, ममं, हमा, महि, महिय, मयि। ने, अफाक, अफाका, अम्हं ॥ ७—Pl. अफेसु, अफेसू ॥ (2) युष्मद्। १—तुश्रो। तुफे, फे ॥ २—Pl तुफे, तुफेनि ॥ ३—तुश्रो।

तुफेहि ॥ ४—Pl. वे ॥ ६—तहि, दहि, तेहि । तुफाक, तुफाकं, तुपक ॥ ७—Pl. तुफेसु ॥ (3) तद् (masc)। १—स, सा, से, सो, ते। से, ते, तानि ॥ २—तं। ३—तेन, तेना। ४—ताय, ताये। तेहि ॥ ५—तफा, ता, तदे। तेहि ॥ ६—तस, तसा, तिस्स। तेस, तेसं, तानं, तन ॥ ७—तम्हि, तसि। तेसु ॥ (4) तद् (neut)। १—त, तं, से, सो। २—स, से, तं, सो। स, से, तानि ॥ (5) तद् (fem.)। १—सा। २—तं। ४—ताये ॥ (6) Secondary base of तद् [and इदम्] (cf. पाणिनि २।४।३४ on इदम्)। २—नं। ने (masc), नानि (neut.) ॥ Cf. Pāli, and Hem., III, 70, 77. (7) एतद् (masc.)। १—एस, एसा, एसे। एत, एते, एदे ॥ २—एतं ॥ ३—एतेन, एतेनि, एतेना, एतकेन, एतकेना। एतेहि ॥ ४—एताय, एतिय, एताये, एतकाय, एतकाये ॥ ६—एतस, एतिस, एतिसा, एदस। एतेस, एताण, एतेसि ॥ ७—एतम्हि, एतसि। एतेसु ॥ (8) एतद् (neut)। १—एत, एतं, एस (Hem., III, 85), एसा, एसे, एतके। एते, एतानि ॥ २—एत, एतं। एतानि ॥ (9) एतद् (fem)। १—एस, एसा, एताका ॥ ६—से, स। एतासं ॥ ७—एतये, एतस्य ॥ (10) इदम् (masc.)। १—अयं, इय, इयं, एयं, अयि, इमो। इमे ॥ २—इम, इमं ॥ ३—इमेन, ०ण, इमिना। इमेहि ॥ ४—इमाये, इमाया ॥ ५—इतु, इतः, इमदे ॥ ६—इमस, इमसा, इमिस, अस। इमेस ॥ ७—इमम्हि ॥ (11) इदम् (neut.)। १—इद, इदं, इयं, इयो, अयं, इम, इमं, इमो। इमानि ॥ २—इदं, इमं ॥ (12) इदम् (fem)। १—इयं, अयं, अय, अयि। इमा ॥ २—इमं ॥ ४—इमाय, इमाये, इमिस। इमाया ॥ ५—एतो, अतो, अदेहि ॥ ७—असि, इश, इशे, इममि, इमस्मिं, इज, इशेमि ॥ (13) यद् (masc)। १—यो (also fem), ये यं, य, ए। या, ये, ए ॥ २—यं ॥ ३—येन, एन ॥ ५—जतो ॥ ६—यस, अस, असा, यसे। येस, येसं, येषा ॥ ७—Pl येसु ॥ (14) यद् (neut.)। १—य, यं, ये, यो, ए, अ, अं। यानि, आनि ॥ २—य, यं, यो, अं, ए ॥ Cf. यंच=च ॥ (15) किम्। १—कि (neut) ॥ २—Pl. कानि (masc and neut.) ॥ Cf. कश्चित्=कचि, कोचि। केचित्=केछि, केछ, केछा। किञ्चित् (कश्चित्)= किचि, किछि, किंचि, किछि, इंचि, इंचियं। कानिचित्=केचि, कानिचि ॥ किमिति=किति, किंति, i.e., that (conjunction), in order that. कं—expletive. केन-स्वित्= किनसु। कथम्=किमं, किंमं। केनापि=केनपि ॥ (16) अन्यत् (masc)। १—अन्ये, अञे, अंञे, अंने, अञि। अंञे, अञे, अंने, अने (later अन्ने) ॥

३—Pl. अनेहि ॥ ४—अणाय, अंनाये, अनाये ॥ ६—अनन, अंनमा, अंनेस । अ नानं ॥ ७—अनगिह । अंनेसु ॥ (17) अन्यत् (neut)। १—अन, अंने, अण, अनं, अन्ने। अणानि, अंनानि ॥ २—Pl. अणानि ॥ (18) सर्व (masc) ॥ १—सर्वे, सव्रे, सवे। २—सवं, सव्रं ॥ ३—सवेन, सवेना ॥ ६—सवस । सविया ॥ ७—सर्वे, सवे, सवमि । सवेसु, सव्रेसु ॥ (19) सर्व (fem.)। १—सवा ॥ ७—सवाये, ॰यि ॥ (20) सर्व (neut)। १—सवे, सर्व, सवं, सव, स्व्रे ॥ २—सर्वं, सवं, सव्रं ॥

Numerals (1) एक ॥ १—एको or एके (masc.), इका or एका (fem.) ॥ २—एकं (neut), इकं (fem.) ॥ ३—एकेन, एककेन ॥ (2) द्वि । १—द्वो (masc), द्वे (fem.), दुवे (masc and neut), दुवि (masc and fem), वे (neut) ॥ ३—दुवेहि (masc) ॥ ६—दिन ॥ Cf. द्वितीय=दुतिय, दुतीय, वितिय, द्विति । द्विपद=दुपद । उभयन्यो=उभयेय, उभयेनं ॥ (3) त्रि । १—त्री or तो or तयो (masc.), तिनि, or ॰णि (neut), तिनि (masc and neut.) ॥ २—तिनि (neut.) ॥ ७—Pl. तीसु (fem) ॥ Cf. अथेस, त्रिति ॥ (4) चतुर् । चत्पारो or चतालि or चतुरे (masc). चत्तारि । चतुहि । चतुंणं, चतुरन्न । Cf चतुये ॥ Cf. पंचसु । सत्तु । सतानि, सतेहि, सतेसु । सहसानि, सहस्रानि, सहसेहि, सहसेसु, सहसेसुं । दसले । एकतरे, एकतरनि । Cf. पञ्च=पनम । पानंतरीय । अठ । यदस, बारसक, दुवादस, द्वादस, बारसम । बीसाय । त्रयोदशम, तेरस, तेडस, तोदस । द्वात्रिंशत । पनतिसाहि । अठतिसाय । चोयठि । सतरि ॥

Cf. नास्ति धर्मंतर सवैलोकहितेन । दुष्करं तु उदम् अन्यत्र अग्रेण पराक्रमेण । शान्तिश्री- शैलमण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापित । गतोस्मि वर्त्तुं पुष्कराणि । सः तथा कुर्वन् (=तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वंति)। कदम्बाना (=कदम्बवंशीय.) मयूरशर्मा । भुञ्जमानस्य मे (=भुञ्जमाने मयि or भुञ्जमानं मां) प्रतिवेदयन्तु । माधुमता देवानांप्रियस्य । कर्तव्यमतं मे । यथाकालेन (=यथाकालं), etc.

सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ।—तिङ्विधिः ॥

Chapter VII—Conjugation.

त-तिपोरिदेतौ ॥१॥ *I* and *e* are mutually substituted for *ta* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers sing. *ātmanepada*) and *tip* (3rd pers. sing. *parasmaipada*). पठति, पठते=पढइ, पढए ॥ Cf. S. 5.

थास्सिपोः सिसे ॥२॥ *Si* and *se* are mutually substituted for

thās (2nd pers. sing. *ātmane*) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing. *parasmai*) पठसि, पठसे=पढसि, पढसे ॥ Cf. S. 5

इट्मिपोर्मिः ॥३॥ *Mi* is substituted for *it* (1st pers. sing. *ātmane*) and *mip* (1st pers sing *parasmai*) पठामि, पठे=पढामि ॥

न्ति-हेत्था-मो-मु-मा बहुषु ॥४॥ Var lect. न्ति-ह-था-मो॰ (K) ॥ In the plural number of the present tense, *nti* is used for the 3rd pers , *ha* and *itthā* for the 2nd pers , and *mo*, *mu* and *ma* for the 1st pers. पठन्ति=पढन्ति ॥ पठथ=पढह, पढित्था ॥ पठाम=पढामो, पढामु, पढामो (cf S. 31) ॥ K. reads *tha* instead of *ittha*. वर्द्धथ=वड्ढह, वड्ढथ ॥

अत ए से । ५॥ *E* of S 1 and *se* of S 2 are only substituted when they follow a root ending in *a*, and not otherwise रमए, पढए ; but होइ (cf. VIII, 1) and not होए । रमसे, पढसे ; but होसि and not होसे ॥

अस्तेर्लोपः ॥६॥ When the substitutes for *thās* and *sip* (S 2) follow, the root *as* is elided सुप्तः असि=सुत्तो सि ॥ In Aśokan records, *asti* is sometimes used for *santi*, sometimes instead of the conjunction *vā* (or), and sometimes as a particle opening a sentence

मि-मो-मु-मानाम् अधो हश्च ॥७॥ *H* is to be used immediately after the *m* in the affixes *mi*, *mo*, *mu* and *ma*, when they follow the root *as* which is elided (S 6) गतः अस्मि=गओ म्हि । गता· स्मः=गआ म्हो, गआ म्हु, गआ म्ह ॥

यक ईअ-इज्जौ ॥८॥ *Ia* and *ijja* are substituted for *yak* (affix of the Bhāva-vāchya and Karma-vāchya, i e the passive voice), and the personal affixes are added to them. पठ्यते=पढीअइ, पढिज्जइ ॥ Cf. Hem. दृश्यते=दीसइ, उच्यते=वुच्चइ ॥

नान्त्य-द्वित्वे ॥९॥ The above substitutions for *yak* (S 8) do not take place when the final consonant of the root is doubled. हस्यते=हस्सइ ; गम्यते=गम्मइ ॥ But cf. *infra*, VIII, 58, for the optionality indicated as to the doubling of the final consonant of the roots *gam*, etc गमीअइ, गमिज्जइ ॥ Such forms are allowed when the final consonant of the root is not doubled.

न्त-माणौ शतृ-शानचोः ॥१०॥ *Nta* and *māṇa* are mutually substituted for *śatṛ* and *śānach*, affixes of the present participle. पठत्, पठमान=पढन्तो, पढमाणो ॥ हसत्, हसमान=हसन्तो, हसमाणो ॥

ई च स्त्रियाम् ॥११॥ *I* (also *nta* and *māna* with the affixes of the feminine) is substituted for *śatṛ* and *śānach* when they are used in the feminine हसन्ती=हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा । वेपमाना=वेवई, वेवन्ती, वेवमाणा ॥ Hem also gives हसमाणी, etc which areallowed by *supra*, V, 24

धातोर्भविष्यति हिः ॥१२॥ *Hi* is to be used after the root in the future tense, and the affixes of the present tense should be added to it. भविष्यति=होहिइ ; भविष्यन्ति=होहिन्ति । हसिष्यति=हसिहिइ ; हसिष्यन्ति=हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf. S 33 for the forms हसेहिइ, हसेहिन्ति, etc

उत्तमे स्सा हा च ॥१३॥ *Ssā* and *hā*, as well as *hi*, are to be used after the root in the 1st pers of the future tense (*lṛit*), and the conjugational affixes of the present are to be added to them. भविष्यामि= होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि (S. 3) । भविष्यामः=होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो ; होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिमु ; etc. (S. 4) ॥

मिना स्सं वा ॥१४॥ In the 1st pers sing of the fut , *ssaṃ* may be optionally used after the root superseding the conjugational affix *mi*. भविष्यामि=होस्सं (Bh), होहिस्सं (K) ; also होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि ॥

मो-मु-मैर्हिस्सा हित्था ॥१५॥ In the 1st pers. plu of fut , *hissā* and *hitthā* may be used optionally after the root instead of *mo*, *mu* and *ma*. भविष्यामः=होहिस्सा, होहित्था ; also होहिमो, होहिमु, होस्सामो, होस्सामु, होहामो, होहामु ॥

कृ-दा-श्रु-वचि-गमि-रुदि-दृशि-विदि-रूपाणां काहं दाहं सोच्छं वोच्छं गच्छं रोच्छं दच्छं वेच्छं ॥१६॥ Var lect ०रुचि दृशि० ॥ [K omits विदि and its substitute वेच्छं (var. lect वोच्छं) ॥] In 1st pers sing. of fut., *kāhaṃ* etc. are substituted for *kṛi*, etc करिष्यामि=काहं ; दास्यामि=दाहं ; श्रोष्यामि=सोच्छं ; वक्ष्यामि=वोच्छं , गमिष्यामि=गच्छं ; रोदिष्यामि=रोच्छं ; द्रक्ष्यामि=दच्छं ; वेत्स्यामि= वेच्छं ॥ K मोक्ष्यामि=मोच्छं ; भोक्ष्यामि=भोच्छं ॥

श्रु वादीनां त्रिष्वप्यनुस्वारवर्ज्जं हि-लोपश्च वा ॥१७॥ In the fut. of all

persons, *śru*, etc are changed to *sochchham*, etc.; but the *anusvāra* is elided and *hi* (S 12) is optionally elided श्रोष्यति=सोच्छिइ, सोच्छिहिइ ; श्रोष्यन्ति=सोच्छिन्ति, सोच्छिहिन्ति ; श्रोष्यसि=सोच्छिसि, सोच्छिहिसि ; श्रोष्यथ=सोच्छित्था, सोच्छिहित्था (cf var lect of S 4), श्रोष्यामि=सोच्छिमि सोच्छिहिमि ; श्रोष्यामः= सोच्छिमो, etc (cf. S 13-15) ॥ Similarly वोच्छिइ, वोच्छिहिइ, etc. ॥ K — सोच्छइ ; सोच्छहिसि ; सोच्छेसि ; सोच्छिन्ति ; सोच्छिहिन्ति ॥

उ सु मु विध्यादिष्वेकवचने ॥१८॥ In the sense of *vidhi* (command), etc., i e. in the imperative mood (*lot*), etc , *u*, *su* and *mu* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers sing for the proper singular affixes. हसतु=हसउ । हस=हससु । हसानि=हसमु ॥ होउ ; होसु ; होमु ॥ Hem. alternately suggests *hi* for *su* देहि ; देसु ॥ In the case of roots endidg in *a*, alternately also हसेज्जसु, हसेज्जहि and हसेज्जे for हससु ॥

न्तु ह मो बहुषु ॥१९॥ In the sense of command, etc , *ntu*, *ha* and *mo* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers plu for the proper affixes of the plural हसन्तु=हसन्तु । हसथ=हसह । हसाम=हसामो ॥

वर्त्तमान-भविष्यदनद्यतनयोर्ज्ज ज्जा वा ॥२०॥ In the present (*lat*) and definite future (*lrit*) and in the sense of command etc , *jja* and *jjā* are optionally substituted for the proper affixes Pres. भवति=होज्ज, होज्जा ; also होइ (cf VIII, 1) । हसति=हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा ; also हसइ ॥ Fut. भविष्यति=होज्ज, होज्जा ; also होहिइ ॥ Imperative भवतु=होज्ज, होज्जा ; also होउ ॥ Note that in Pāli *yya* (=*jja*; *jjā*), the affix of the *vidhilin* (potential or optative mood), has been generalised to denote present and future and also imperative, etc Cf. Pāli optative forms like भासेय्य, विहिंसेय्य ॥

मध्ये च ॥२१॥ In pres. and definite fut. and in the sense of command, etc , *jja* and *jjā* are optionally inserted between the root and the affixes. Pres. भवति=होज्जइ, होज्जाइ ॥ Fut भविष्यति=होज्जहिइ, होज्जाहिइ । Imper. भवतु=होज्जउ, होज्जाउ ॥ This rule is ignored by K. According to Hem होज्ज and होज्जा stand for भवति, भवेत्, भवतु, अभवत्, अभूत्, बभूव, भूयात्, भविता, भविष्यति ॥ *Jja* and *jjā* are prefixed to all conjugational

terminations in the case of the vowel-ending roots (cf. S 22) Hem gives होज्जइ, होज्जेइ and होज्जाइ for optative.

नानेकाचः ॥२२॥ *Jja* and *jjā* are not inserted between the root and the affixes (S 21), except when the root ends in a vowel and is therefore monosyllabic Note that the roots ending in a consonant become dissyllabic by the addition of a vowel हस्=हस—हसइ (K हसेइ ; cf. S 34) । त्वर्=तुवर—तुवरइ ॥ But they may be employed as finals (S. 20). हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा ; तुवरेज्ज, तुवरेज्जा ॥

ईअ भूते ॥२३॥ *Ia* is substituted for the affix after a root in the past tense (*lan*, etc.). अभवत्=हुवीअ ; अहसत्=हसीअ ॥ Hem. gives सी, ही, हीअ for the vowel-ending and ईय for the consonant-ending roots (cf. *infra*, S 24) अब्भवी, गच्छिंसु, गच्छंसु (plu.) are found in literature.

एकाचो हीअ ॥२४॥ In the past tense (*lan, lun, lit*), *hīa* is substituted for the conjugational affix after a monosyllabic root. अकरोत, अकार्षीत्, चकार=काहीअ ; also कासी, काही (S. 23) । अभूत्, अभवत्, बभूव=होहीअ, also हुवीअ (S. 23) ॥

अस्तेरासिः ॥२५॥ Var lect. ॰रासी ॥ *Āsi* (Bh.) or *āsī* (K.) is substituted for the root *as*, to exist, in 3rd pers sing. in the past tense. आसीत्=आसि (Bh.) , आसी (K.) ॥ Hem. gives आसि and अहेसि for all persons and numbers

णिच एदादेरत आत् ॥२६॥ *E* is substituted for the causal affix *nich* and an *a* in the first syllable of the root becomes *ā* कारयति=कारेइ; हासयति=हासेइ ॥

आवे च ॥२७॥ *Āve* (as well as *e*) is also substituted for *nich*. हासयति =हसावेइ ; also हासेइ (S 26) ॥ Hem gives *a*, *e*, *āva* and *āve*. दरिसइ । कारेइ । करावइ । करावेइ, कारावेइ ॥

आविः क्त-कर्म-भावेषु वा ॥२८॥ *Āvi* is optionally substituted for *ṇich* followed by *kta* (the affix of the past participle) and when the *Karma** and *Bhāva-vāchya* (i e, the passive voice) are signified. Past Participle—कारित=कराविअं, also कारिअं । हासित=हसाविअं (K. हासाविअं),

हासिअं ॥ Cf S. 32. Passive Voice—कार्यते=कराविज्जइ, also कारिज्जइ । हास्यते =हसाविज्जइ, हसिज्जइ ॥

नैदावे ॥२९॥ *E* and *āve* are not substituted for *nich* followed by *kta* or in the passive voice. कारित=कारिअं, कराविअं ॥ कार्यते=कारिज्जइ, कराविज्जइ ॥

अतः आ मिपि वा ॥३०॥ *Ā* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root ending in *a* before *mip* (pres 1st pers sing.) हसामि ; हसमि ; also हसेमि (S. 34) ॥ Hem also हसं (III, 141).

इच्च बहुषु ॥३१॥ *I* (as well as *ā*) is substituted for the final *a* in the 1st pers. plu. of the present tense. हसिमो, हसामो; हसिमु, हसामु ॥

क्ते ॥३२॥ *I* is substituted for the final *a* of a root before *kta* (affix of the past participle). हसित=हसिअं , पठित=पढिअं ॥

एच्च क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्य-भविष्यत्सु ॥३३॥ *E* (as well as *i*) is substituted for the final *a* of a root before *ktvā* (affix of the gerund), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive), *tavya* (affix of the future participle) and in the future tense. हसित्वा=हसेऊण, हसिऊण । हसितुं=हसेउं, हसिउं । हसितव्य= हसेअव्वं, हसिअव्वं । हसिष्यति=हसेहिइ, हसिहिइ ; हसिष्यन्ति=हसेहिन्ति, हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf S. 12-17 for forms of the future tense and *supra*, IV, 23 for *ktvā*

लादेशे वा ॥३४॥ *E* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root wherever it is followed by any affix of any person of any tense हसति= हसेइ, हसइ । हसतु=हसेउ, हसउ ॥ K हसेअन्तो, हसन्तो ; हसेमाणो, हसमाणो ; भुवन्तं (cf S 10, 11), भुवेन्तं ॥

NOTES

Prakrit Moods and Tenses The forms of the *bhvādi* class have largely influenced Prakrit conjugation. Only *lat* (pres. imperfect tense), *lot* (imperative mood together with *vidhiliṅ*, i e., optative or potential mood) and *lṛt* (second future tense) are most apparent in Prakrit. The present is used for all tenses and the optative for all tenses and moods Other tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar such as *lan* (past imperfect or first preterite), *lṛn* (conditional mood), *luṭ* (first or periphrastic future), *āśīrliṅ* (benedictive), *liṭ* (past perfect or second preterite) and *lun* (aorist or third preterite) are obscure Forms

in *kta* with the auxiliary verb are largely employed. But some of the conjugational classes of roots and of the tenses and moods are represented in Pāli and in early inscriptions Pāli, e.g., has seven or eight classes of roots instead of the ten *ganas* of Sanskrit grammarians They correspond to the Sanskrit *bhvādi* [including *adādi*, *juhotyādi* and *tudādi*], *rudhādi*, *divādi*, *svādi*, *kryādi*, *tanādi* and *churādi gaṇa*. The Pāli class called *gahādi* is included in the Sans *kryādi gana* The *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* forms of conjugation, not observed in Prakrit, are clear in Pāli. Again, Pāli has retained no less than eight tenses and moods instead of the ten *lakāras* of Sanskrit. They are called *vibhaktis*, e g, *vartamānā* (present), *pañchamī* (imperative), *saptamī* (optative), *parokshā* (past perfect), *hyastanī* (past imperfect), *adyatanī* (aorist), *bhavishyatī* (future) and *kālātiprāpti* (conditional) The use of *let* (Vedic subjective) is found in Aśokan Prakrit

Vararuchi's Conjugation. (1) हस् ॥ लट् (present tense)—3rd pers हसइ, हसए, हसेइ, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसन्ति, हसेन्ति ॥ 2nd pers हससि, हसेसि, हससे । हसेह, हसेत्था, हसेथ, हसह, हसित्था, हसथ ॥ 1st pers हसामि, हसमि, हसेमि । हसेमु, हसेमो, हसेम, हसामु, हसामो, हसाम, हसिमो, हसिमु, हसिम ॥ लोट् etc (imperative mood, etc.)—3rd pers हसउ, हसेउ, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा (Saur हसदु) । हसन्तु, हसेन्तु ॥ 2nd pers हससु, हसेसु (cf Hem, *infra*, p 78) । हसह, हसेह ॥ 1st pers हसमु, हसेमु । हसामो, हसमो, हसेमो ॥ लृट् (future tense)—3rd pers हसेहिइ, हसिहिइ हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसिहिन्ति, हसेहिन्ति ॥ 2nd pers हसिहिसि, हसिहिसे । हसिहित्था, हसिहिह, हसिहिथ ॥ 1st pers हसिस्सं, हसेस्सं हसिस्सामि, हसिहामि, हसिहिमि, हसेहिमि, हसेहामि, हसेस्सामि । हसिहिस्सा, हसिहित्था, हसेहित्था, हसेहिस्सा, हसिहिमो, हसिस्सामो, हसिहामो, हसेहिमो, हसेस्सामो, हसेहामो ॥ लङ् (past tense)—3rd pers हसीअ ॥ etc णिच् (causative)—3rd pers. sing pres हासेइ, हसावेइ, हासावेइ ॥ etc. क्त (past participle)—हसिअं ॥ णिच्+क्त—हासिअं, हसाविअं ॥ क्त्वा (absolutive) —हसेऊण, हसिऊण ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—हसेउं, हसिउं ॥ तव्य (future participle)—हसेअव्वं, हसिअव्वं ॥ भावकर्मवाच्य (passive voice)—3rd pers. sing हस्सइ, हसीअइ, हसिज्जइ ॥ शतृ-शानच्—Masc. हसन्तो, हसेन्तो, हसमाणो,

हसेमाणो ॥ Fem. हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा, हसमाणी ॥ (2) भू ॥ लट्—3rd pers. होइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जइ, होज्जाइ। होन्ति etc. ॥ 2nd pers. होसि। होह, होथ ॥ 3rd pers. होमि। होमु, होम, होमो ॥ लोट्—3rd pers होउ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जउ, होज्जाउ। होन्तु ॥ etc लृट्—3rd pers होहिइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जहिइ, होज्जाहिइ। होहिन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. होहिसि, होहिसे। होहिह, होहित्था, होहिथ ॥ 1st pers होस्सं, होहामि, होस्सामि, होहिमि। होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो, होहिस्सा होहित्था, होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिमु, होस्साम, होहाम, होहिम ॥ etc लङ्—3rd pers. होहीअ, हुवीय ॥ (3) दृश् ॥ लृट्—3rd pers दच्छिइ, दच्छइ, दच्छिहिइ। दच्छिन्ति, दच्छिहिन्ति ॥ 2nd pers दच्छसि, दच्छिहिसि। दच्छित्था, दच्छिहित्था, दच्छह, दच्छथ ॥ 1st pers दच्छं, दच्छिमि, दच्छिहिमि, दच्छिस्सं। दच्छिमो, दच्छिहिमो, दच्छिमु, दच्छिहिमु, दच्छिम, दच्छिहिम, दच्छिस्सामो, दच्छिहामो, दच्छिस्सामु, दच्छिहामु, दच्छिस्साम, दच्छिहाम ॥ etc. (4) अस् ॥ लट्—3rd pers अत्थि। सन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. सि। त्थ, ह, त्था ॥ 1st pers म्हि। म्हो, म्हु, म्ह ॥ लङ्—3rd pers. असि, आसी ॥ etc.

Conjugation in Pāli भू ॥ लट् (present) active (*parasm.*). ३—भवति। भवन्ति ॥ २—भवसि। भवथ ॥ १—भवामि। भवाम ॥ But usually *bhū* is changed to *hū* and we have. ३—होति। होन्ति ॥ २—होसि। होथ ॥ १—होमि। होम ॥ Pres reflective or middle (*ātman*) ३—भवते। भवन्ते ॥ २—भवसे। भवव्हे ॥ १—भवे। भवाम्हे ॥ लोट् (imperative) active. ३—भवतु। भवन्तु ॥ २—भव, भवाहि। भवथ ॥ १—भवामि। भवाम ॥ Reflective ३—भवतं। भवन्तं ॥ २—भवस्सु। भवव्हो ॥ १—भवे। भवाममे ॥ विधिलिङ् (optative) active ३—भवेय्य, भवे। भवेय्युं ॥ २—भवेय्यासि, भवे। भवेय्याथ ॥ १—भवेय्यामि, भवे। भवेय्याम ॥ Reflective. ३—भवेथ। भवेरं ॥ २—भवेथो। भवेय्यव्हो ॥ १—भवेय्यं। भवेय्याम्हे ॥ लिट् (past perfect) active ३—बभूव। बभूवु ॥ २—बभूवे। बभूवित्थ ॥ १—बभूव। बभूविम्ह ॥ Reflective ३—बभूवित्थ। बभूविरे ॥ २—बभूवित्थो। बभूविव्हो ॥ १—बभूवि। बभूविम्हे ॥ लङ् (past imperfect) active ३—अभवा। अभवू ॥ २—अभवो। अभवत्थ ॥ १—अभवं। अभवम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभवत्थ। अभवत्थुं ॥ २—अभवसे। अभवव्हं ॥ १—अभविं। अभवाम्हसे (cf. अहुवम्हसे) ॥ लुङ् (aorist) active ३—अभवि, अभवी (cf the alternate

forms अहोसि,- अहु) । अभवु, अभविंसु ॥ २—अभवो । अभवित्थ ॥ १—अभविं । अभविम्हा ॥ Cf. the alternate forms ३—अहोसि । अहेसुं ॥ २— अहोसि । अहोसित्थ ॥ १—अहोसिं । अहोसिम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभवा । अभवू ॥ २—अभवसे । अभव्हिवहं ॥ १—अभवं । अभविम्हे ॥ लृट् (future) active. ३—भविस्सति (cf the alternate forms होहिति, हेहिति, हेस्सति) । भविस्सन्ति ॥ २—भविस्ससि (cf भोहिसि) । भविस्सथ ॥ १—भविस्सामि । भविस्साम ॥ Reflective. ३—भविस्सते । भविस्सन्ते ॥ २—भविस्ससे । भविस्सव्हे ॥ भविस्सं । भविस्साम्हे ॥ लृङ् (conditional) active ३—अभविस्सा, अभविस्स । अभविस्संसु ॥ २—अभविस्से । अभविस्सह ॥ १—अभविस्सं । अभविस्सम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभविस्सथ । अभविसिंसु ॥ २—अभविस्से । अभविस्सव्हे ॥ १—अभविस्सं । अभविस्साम्हसे ॥ णिच् (causative)—पच् । पाचेति, पाचयति, पाचापेति, पचापेति, पाचापयति ॥ स्था । ठपेति, ठपयति, ठापेति ॥ गम् । गमेति, गमयति, गच्छापेति, गच्छापयति ॥ सन् (desiderative)—पा । पिपासति, पिवासति ॥ दा । दिच्छति, दिच्छरे ॥ भुज् । बुभुक्खति ॥ यङ् (intensive)—क्रम् । चङ्कमति ॥ गम् ॥ जङ्गमति ॥ दह्, दल् । दद्दलति ॥ नामधातु (denominative)—पब्बतायति , पुत्तीयति ॥ गळगळायति, चितिचिटायति ॥ Participles शतृ-शानच्—कृ । करं, करन्तो, करमान, करमाण, कुब्बान ॥ भू । भवं, भवन्तो ॥ दा । ददमान ॥ क्त—पच् । पक्क ॥ कृ । कत ॥ दुह् । दुद्ध ॥ वच् । वुत्त ॥ दा । दिन्नो ॥ मर् । मिन्नो ॥ ली । लीनो ॥ इच्छितो, वपितो, याचितो ॥ भुत्तवा । भुत्तवन्तो ॥ तव्य—दा । दातब्ब ॥ नी । नेतब्ब ॥ भू । भवितब्ब ॥ अनीय—गमनीय, करनीय ॥ य—नेय्य ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—खादितुं, वदितुं, गन्तुं, सोतुं ॥ Infinitives in *tave, tuye, tāye* which are remnants of old Vedic forms are found in Pāli and old inscriptions. गन्तवे, नेतवे, पहातवे, कातुये, मरितुये, दक्खिताये ॥ क्त्वा (gerund)—नी । नेत्वा ॥ कृ । कत्वा, कत्वान, कत्तून ॥ चिन्त् । चिन्तिय ॥ भुज् । भुञ्जिय ॥ भू । भुत्वा ॥

Conjugation from Hemachandra. Affixes of the Present Tense ३—इ, ए । न्ति, न्ते, इरे ॥ २—सि, से । इत्था, ह ॥ १—मि । मो, मु, म ॥ [अस् । ३—अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ २—सि, अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ १—म्हि, अत्थि । म्हो, म्ह, अत्थि ॥] Affixes of the Future Tense. ३—हिइ, हिए । हिन्ति, हिन्ते, हिइरे ॥ २—हिसि, हिसे । हित्था, हिह ॥

१—स्सं, स्सामि, हामि, हिमि। स्सामो, हामो, हिमो, स्साम, हाम, हिम, स्सासु, हासु, हिसु, हिस्सा, हित्था॥ Affixes of the Imperative Mood. ३—उ। न्तु॥ २—०, सु, इज्जसु, इज्जहि, इज्जे, हि। ह॥ १—मु। मो॥

Conjugation in Epigraphic Prakrit. (1) Indicative (लट्)। 1. sing. आनपयामि, अणपेमि, करोमि, पलकमामि, दखामि, अनुसासामि, इछामि, कलामि, पटिवेखामि, विदहामि अभत्थेमि, विकिनमि, लिहाम। 1 plu संनवेयम, वितराम, ददाम, ०दम॥ 2. sing विंनवेसि। 2. plu पापुनाथ॥ 3. sing करोति, कुणति, याति, देखति, आनपयति, गरहति, पसति, भवति, भोति, होति, अस्ति, अथि, अठि, इछति, उपहनाति, पुजयति, पूजेति, निवतेति, वढियति, अनुनेति, मनति, मेनति, एति, अनुकंपति, व्रखति, पटिपजति, पापुनाति, वेदयति, दुखीयति, इच्छ(च्छ?)ति, अस्ति, नस्ति, ददाति, विसजति, वितासिति, यति, भिंदति, नयति, लिहति, देति, अणुमएणाति, विंनवेति, होअति, प्रेषेति, परिप्रोछति, हुअति, हरति (=धरति)। 3. plu इछति, प्रापुणति पापुनात, अनुवटंति, वसति, यंति, इछंति, कलंति, अचंति, भोति, हुवंति, कलेति, लघंति, देखंति, संपटिपादयंति, करेंति, प्रेषेंति, थियंति (=तिष्ठन्ति), पलयंति, सरजितंति॥ Middle (आत्मनेपद). 3 sing कमते, मंनते, मनते, करोते। 3 plu करोते, आरभरे, अनुवतरे॥ Passive 3 sing पसवति, वुचति, खादियति, नीलखियति, गनीयति, कयियति, ग्रिणयति, कसते, वसते, वुच्यति, हुअंति, श्रुयति, दिनदि (=दीयते)। 3. plu आरभरे, अनुविधियरे, अनुविधियंति, अनुविधी०, अलभिसंति, हंनंति, आलंभियंति॥ (2) Subjunctive (लेट्)। 1. sing सुखापयामि, सुखायामि, सुखयमि, दिपयमि, आवहामो, अनुसासामि, सावापयामि। 2. plu निखिपाथ, पलियोवदाथ, विवासयाथ, विवासापयाथा। 3 sing. मंना, सुसुसातु, हुवाति। 3 plu पलकमातु, निखमावू॥ (3) Optative (विधिलिङ्)। 1 sing गछेयं, येहं (√ या), पटिपादयेहं (पटिपात०), आलमेहं, अचेयं, अभ्युंनामयेहं,। 1 plu दीपयेम (दिप०), गछेम, पटिपादयेमा (पटिपात०), करेय्याम, करेजाम, करेजाम। 3 sing अस (=स्यात्), सिय, सिया, सियाति, सियति, भवे, तिसटेय, निवटेया, पटिपजेया, अपकरेयति, उगछ(छे?), दखेया, दखेय, उथाया, हुवेया, पापोया, पापोव, वढेया, वटेज, होज, सियति, स्यति, ०दि, करेज, करेय्य, कारवेज्जा। 3 plu पकमेयु, जानेयु, सियसु, असु (=स्यु०), वसेयु, हुवेयु, हेयू, हुवेवु, हुवेवू, सुनेयु, सुसुसेयु, वसेवु, अवतपेयु, चलेयू, चलेवू लहेयू, लहेवु, वसेवू, अखसेयु, पापुनेवु

(॰नेयु, ॰नेवू), युजेवु (॰जेयू, ॰जेवू), आलाघयेयू (॰वू), याडु, उपददेहु, अनुगहिनेवु, पवतयेवू, करेज्जा, करापेज्जा, सियंति। Middle (आत्मनेपद)। 3 sing. पटिपजेथ। 3 plu सुसुंसेरं, सुसुसेयु॥ Passive. 3. plu युजेवु, ॰वू, यूजेवू, ॰यू॥ (4) Imperative (लोट्)। 2. sing. परिहरहि, ॰हरेहि, ओयपपेहि, निबघापेहि। 2. plu. पटिवेदेथ, रक्खथ, रक्खापेथय, परिहरथ, ॰रापेथय, आनपयाथ, निवेदयाथ, परिहरेथ, ॰रथ, ॰हरापेथ, निबघापेथ। 3. sing. होतु, भोतु, अनुवततु, ॰वतति, पटिपजंतु हुतु, विथिष्यतु (=वितिष्ठतु)। 3. plu युजंतु, आराधयंतु, नियातु, सुनाह, निखमंतु, मनतु, रोचेतु, वेदेतु, परकमंतु, निकमतु, मनतु, अरघेतु, वेदयंतु। Middle (आत्मनेपद)। 3 sing. अनुविधियतां (passive), सुसुसता (desiderative)। 3 plu अनुवतरं॥ Passive. 3. sing. अनुविधियता, ॰यतु। 3 plu अनुविधियंतु, हुंसेयसु (cf लुङ्)॥ Desiderative 3 sing सुसुसातु, ॰सतु, ॰सता॥ (5) Imperfect (लङ्)। 1 sing गतोस्मिं, ततोस्मिं गतो, गदेमि, अरोगेमि, विसजिदेमि, प्रहिदेमि, पिचविदेमि। 1. plu. किडम, शकिदम। 2. sing. प्रहितेसि 3 sing अहो (=अभवत्), असि (=आसीत्)॥ (6) Aorist (लुङ्)। 1 sing हुसं, हुस। 3 sing निखमिथा, निकमि, निखमि। (Middle. हुथा, वढिथा)। 3 plu हुसु, इछिसु, अहुंसु, अयासु, आरभिसु, निखमिसु, निकमिसु, अभुवसु, मञ्जिसु, लोचेसु, अलोचयिसु॥ Passive 3. plu आरभिसु, अरभियिसु, अलंभियिसु॥ (7) Perfect (लिट्)। 3 sing आह, आहा, अहा, अयाय (√ या, or लङ् or लिट् of √ इ)॥ (8) Future (लृट्)। 1. sing पलिमसयिसं, लिखापयिसं, कछामि (=*कज्जामि =करिष्यामि), लिखापेसामि, कषं, कषमि, होसामि (॰मी), लिखापयिसामि, लिखियिसामि, शस्यमि। 1. sing. प्रेषिशम। 2 sing. व्योपिशसि। 2 plu एसथ, एसह, नषथ, आलाघयिसथ (॰था)। 3. sing वढिसिति, वढसिता, वढयिसति, वढियिसति, वढिसति, आनपयिसति (आन॰), ह्रापेसति, कासति, कछति, कयति, होसति, खमिसति, अतिकामयिसति, अभ्युंनमिसति, अनुपटिपजिसति, सपटि॰, नषति, भाखति, निवहिसति, ॰हिपयिसति, ओडिष्यति, करिशति। 3 plu वढयिसंति, अनुसासिसंति, कासंति, कसंति, कछति, म्रचंति (√म्रज्), अनपेशंति, निखमिसंति, युजिसंति, जानिसंति, वढिसंति, पटिचलिसंति, होसंति, होहति, वियोवदिसंति, पलियो॰, पवियलिसंति, दाहंति, चयंति, निक्रपयिसंति, भविसंति, ॰सती॥ Middle

(आत्मनेपद)। 3. sing. परिबुजिशतु॥ 3 plu अनुवतिसरे। Passive. 3. plu. आरभिसरे आलभियिसंति (आलं॰), अरभिशंति, अनुविधियिशंति॥ Many of the instances of tenses and moods are quoted form the records of Aśoka. Later inscriptions do not show variety of moods and tenses. Causative (including *churādi* roots). In *aya*, e. पूजयति, पूजेतया, लोचेतव्या, पटिवेदेथ, दशयित्पा, दीपयेम, आराधयंतु। (2) In *āya*. सुखायामि। (3) In *paya*. हापेसति, दापक, आनपयामि, निवहिपयिसति, रक्खापेथय, परिहरापेथय, निवधापेहि (4) In *āpa, āpaya* लिखापयिसं, खानापित, लेखापित, हारापित, स्नावापक, सुखापयामि। (5) In *pāpaya*. रोपापित, उसपापित। (6) In *īya*, दुखीयति। (7) In *āpāpaya* खानापापितानि, लिखापापिता। Of चोतेयति, वेतेयति, चुदियदि, विदियदि, उथवियदि, अनुवट्टावेति, परिहारेहि, परिहारित, पीडापयति, वंधापयति, भोजापयिता, घातापयिता, खानित, आहरापयति, वियलिदव, पाययति, कासयति, कारयति, कारापयति॥ Denominative. तीलित, वीलीत, मुखयित, सुखायना, सुखीयना, दुखीयना, महीयित, कमेवेति, वशीकरोति॥ शतृ—पुययंतो, वसातानं, वसवुथान, वसतानं, वेजयंतिये, सति, पसासतो, जनेतो, पसंतो, जनंद, जयंतस, संदसयंतो॥ शानच्—भुंजमान, विजिनमन, असमान, करमिन, अशमन, पकमभिन, पलकममीन, पटिपादयमीन, अनुवेखमान, पायमीना, बधमान, अनुविधीयमाना, सुजमान, वर्तमान, वटमानक, समुथापियमान॥ क्त—कत, कट, किट, किट्र, व्यापत, वियापट, वियपुट, विस्तत, विथट, वुत, संमात, संखित, निपेसित निपेसपित, अपवुड, हारापित, आनपयित, किलंत, वियत (=व्यक्त), अपकठ, अखथ, व्युठ, विवुथ, व्यूथ, उपयित; पसंन, विप्रहिन, उविगिन, पटिपंन, दिंन, दिन, पत्यासंन, पतियासंन, उपंन, पटिपुंन, किलिन, क्लेशण, दिन्ना, अविपन्न, विचिण, अभिविगाढ, संपुंन, वोछिंन; खदे, निवधो, फुट, दित, हुता, निखित, हित, सकत, गद, करित, अभुत, हुंद, यिठ, भुत, अतित, नियन्तित, दिठ॥

यत्—दुपटिवेख, दुसंपटिपादय, आवासयिय, कच, शक, चक्य, सकिय, चकिय, देखिय, लहिय, धारिय, देय, कर्य, सवेकिच॥ अनीय—वेदनीय, अखासनिय, करंणि, गरणिय, गहणि॥ तुमुन्—आराधेतु, छमितवे, विखंसयितवे, खमितवे, आलाधयितवे, पटिपादयितवे, समदपयितवे, मेतवे, पलिहटवे, वातवे, पापोतवे, निखेतु, कारयितुं, मोचयितुं, विपमुचितुं॥ तव्य—कतव्य, प्रजूहितव्य, पूजेतय, कटविय, कटव, प्रयुहोतव, इछितविय, इछितय, विकेतविय, झापेतविय (√चै), निलखितविय, दखितविय, द्रखितविय, दयितविय,

गहिंतवय॰ वृत्तव, कर्त्तव, विसजिद्व, ॰देव, ओढिद्व, विमिद्व, भविद्व, क्रिनिद्व, प्रहृद्व॰ श्रु निद्व्य, ॰द्व, वरिद्व॰ कसितव्व, परिहरितव्व॰ परिहापेतव्व ॥

अष्टमः परिच्छेदः ।—धात्वादेशाः ॥

Chapter VIII.—Prakrit Substitutes for Sanskrit Roots.

Note that some of the substitutes may be regularly derived from Sanskrit sources by applying rules of phonetics Some of the Prakrit roots are Deśī.

भुवो हो-हुवौ ॥१॥ *Ho* and *huva* are substituted for the root *bhū*, to exist भवति=होइ, हुवइ ॥ भवन्ति=होन्ति, हुवन्ति ॥

क्ते हुः ॥२॥ Var. lect. क्ते भूः (K.) or ॰हू ॥ When followed by *kta* (affix of the past participle), *hu* or *hū* (Bh.) or *bhū* (K.) is used for the root *bhū*. भूत=हुअं or हूअं (Bh., Hem.). भूअं (K.) ॥

प्रादेर्भवः ॥३॥ When preceded by *pra*, etc., *bhava* is substituted for the root *bhū*. पभवइ ; संभवइ ; उब्भवइ ; परिभवइ ॥

त्वरस्तुवरः ॥४॥ *Tuvara* is substituted for √*tvar*, to hasten. तुवरइ ॥

क्ते तुरः ॥५॥ When followed by *kta* (affix of the past participle), *tura* is substituted for the root *tvar*. तुरिअं ॥ Cf. Ins. त्वरया=तुरुना ॥

घुणो घोलः ॥६॥ Var lect. घूर्णेर्घोलः (K) ॥ *Ghola* is substituted for the root *ghuṇ* (Bh) or *ghūrṇ* (K), to roll. घोलइ, घोलन्ति ॥ Hem घुलइ, घोलइ, घुम्मइ, पहल्लइ ॥

नुदो णोल्लः ॥७॥ *Nolla* is substituted for the root *nud*, to send णोल्लइ ; णोल्लन्ति । पणोल्लइ ॥ Some Mss read *loṇa* for *nolla*; cf *supra*, IV, 29

दूङो दूमः ॥८॥ *Dūma* is substituted for the root *dū*, to be pained दूयते=दूमइ ॥ Hem. also धवलयति=दूमइ, धवलइ ॥

पटेः फलः ॥९॥ Var. lect. पाटेः फालः (K.) ॥ *Phala* is substituted

for the root *pat*, to go, move. K. prefers *phāla* for the root *pāti* (the causative form of *pat*), to split, to tear asunder. पटित=फलिअं ॥ K.—पाटयति=फालेइ, पाटित=फालिअं ॥

पदे पालः ॥१०॥ *Pāla* is substituted for the root *pad*, go move. पद्यते=पालेइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K.

वृष-कृष-मृष-हृषामृतोऽरिः ॥११॥ *Ari* is substituted for the ṛi in the roots *vṛish*, etc वर्षति=वरिसइ ; कर्षति=करिसइ ; मर्षति=मरिसइ ; हर्षति=हरिसइ ॥ Hem. कृष्—कड्ढइ, साअड्ढइ, अञ्छइ, अणच्छइ, अवच्छइ, आइच्छइ, करिसइ ॥

ऋतोऽरः ॥१२॥ Var. lect. अन्त्यस्यार. (K) ॥ *Ara* is substituted for ṛi in the roots that end in *ri*. मृ—मरइ ; सृ—सरइ ; हृ—हरइ ।

कृञः कुणो वा ॥१३॥ *Kuṇa* is optionally substituted for the root *kṛi*, to do. करोति=कुणइ, also करइ ॥

जृम्भो जम्भाअः ॥१४॥ *Jambhāa* is sustituted for the root *jṛibh* (or *jṛimbh*), to yawn जृम्भते=जम्भाअइ । जृम्भन्ते=जम्भाअन्ति ॥ Hem. जम्भाइ, जम्भाअइ ॥ He has √जम्भा, cf. व्यञ्जनाददन्ते, स्वरादनतो वा (IV, 239-40). Cf S. 71.

ग्रहेर्गेण्हः ॥१५॥ *Geṇha* is substituted for *grah*, to seize गृह्णाति=गेण्हइ ; गृह्णन्ति=गेण्हन्ति ॥ Hem. also gives गृह्णाति=घेप्पइ ॥

घेत् क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्येषु ॥१६॥ When followed by *ktvā* (affix of the indeclinable absolutive participle), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle), *ghet* is substituted for *grah*. गृहीत्वा=घेत्तूण । ग्रहितुम्=घेत्तुं । ग्रहीतव्य=घेत्तव्वं ।

कृञः का भूत-भविष्यतोश्च ॥१७॥ In the past and future tenses and also before *ktvā*, *tumun* and *tavya*, *kā* is substituted for √*kṛi*. अकरोत्=काहीअ (VII, 24)। करिष्यति=काहिइ । कृत्वा=काऊण । कर्तुम्=काउं । कर्तव्य=काअव्वं ।

स्मरतेर्भर-सुमरौ ॥१८॥ *Bhara* and *sumara* are substituted for the root *smṛi*, to remember. स्मरति=भरइ, सुमरइ ॥ According to some later authors, the substitution does not take place when the root is preceded by an *upasarga* (preposition) विस्सरइ ॥ According to Hem

स्मरति=झरइ, झूरइ, भरइ, भलइ, लढइ, विम्हरइ, सुमरइ, पयरइ, पम्हुहइ, सरइ ॥ विस्मरति=पम्हुसइ, विम्हरइ, वीसरइ ॥

भियो भा-वीहौ ॥१९॥ Var. lect. ०वीभौ ॥ *Bhā* and *vīha* are substituted for the root *bhī*, to fear. बिभेति=भाइ, वीहइ ॥ K.—भाइ, बिभाइ, बिभेइ, वीहइ । वीहन्ति ॥

जिघ्रतेः पा-पाओ ॥२०॥ *Pā* and *pāa* are substituted for the root *ghrā*, to smell जिघ्रति=पाइ, पाअइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K. Hem. आजिघ्रति=आइग्घइ, अग्घाइ ॥

म्लै वा-वाओ ॥२१॥ *Vā* and *vāa* are substituted for the root *mlai*, to wither म्लायति=वाइ, वाअइ ॥ Hem. वाइ, पव्वायइ, मिलाइ, मिलाअइ ॥

तृपस्थिम्पः ॥२२॥ *Thimpa* is substituted for the root *trip*, to be pleased. तृप्यति=थिम्पइ ॥ Hem has थिप्पइ ॥

ज्ञो जाण-मुणौ ॥२३॥ *Jāna* and *muna* are substituted for the root *jñā*, to know जानाति=जाणइ, मुणइ ॥ Some later authors give the substitutes *najja* and *nappa*. णज्जइ, णप्पइ ॥

जल्पेर्लो मः ॥२४॥ *M* is substituted for the *l* of the root *jalp*, to speak articulately जल्पति=जम्पइ ॥

ष्ठा-ध्या-गानां ठाअ-झाअ-गाआः ॥२५॥ *Thāa*, *jhāa* and *gāa* are respectively substituted for the roots *shthā* (*sthā*), to stand, *dhyai*, to meditate, and *gai*, to sing तिष्ठन्ति=ठाअन्ति । ध्यायन्ति=झाअन्ति । गायन्ति=गाअन्ति ॥

ठा-झा-गाश्च वर्त्तमान-भविष्यद्विध्याद्येकवचनेषु ॥२६॥ *Thā*, *jhā* and *gā*, as well as *thāa*, *jhāa* and *gāa*, are severally substituted for the roots *shthā* (*sthā*), *dhyai* and *gai* before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the future and present tenses. Pres तिष्ठति=ठाइ, ठाअइ । Fut. स्थास्यति=ठाहिइ, ठाअहिइ । Imp तिष्ठतु=ठाउ, ठाअउ ॥ झाइ, झाअइ । झाहिइ, झाअहिइ । झाउ, झाअउ ॥ गाइ, गाअइ । गाहिइ, गाअहिइ । गाउ, गाअउ ॥

खादि-धाव्योः खा-धौ ॥२७॥ *Khā* and *dhā* are respectively substituted for the roots *khād*, to eat and *dhāv*, to run, before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the present and future tenses

according to Bh., but unrestrictedly according to K. Bh.—खादति= खाइ। खादिष्यति=खाहिइ। खादतु=खाउ॥ धाइ। धाहिइ। धाउ॥ K.—खाहिन्ति। खाइ। खासु। खासु। खाउ। खाअव्वं। खासु। धाउ॥ etc.

ग्रसेर्विसः॥२८॥ *Visa* is substituted for the root *gras*, to eat. ग्रसते =विसइ॥ Hem. घिसइ, गसइ॥

चिनञ्चिणः॥२९॥ *Chiṇa* is substituted for the root *chi*, to gather. चिनोति=चिणइ॥ K.—चिणोइ, चिणुए॥ चिणन्ति। चिणामि॥

क्रीञः किणः॥३०॥ *Kiṇa* is substituted for the root *krī*, to purchase. क्रीणाति=किणइ॥ K. किणाए। किणसे॥ etc.

वेः क्क च॥३१॥ Var. lect. ०क्के० ॥ *Kke*, as well as *kiṇa*, is substituted for the root *krī*, when it follows the preposition *vi*, i.e., for the root *vikrī*, to sell. विक्रीणाति=विक्केइ (Hem. also विक्केअइ), विकिणइ॥ Cf. III. 50 for the doubling of *k*. This Sūtra is ignored by K.

उद्ध्म उद्धुमा॥३२॥ *Uddhuma* is substituted for the root *dhmā*, to blow fire, preceded by the preposition *ut*, i. e., for the root *uddhmā*. उद्धमति=उद्धुमाइ॥

श्रदो धो दहः॥३३॥ *Daha* is subtituted for the root *dhā* preceded by the particle *śrad*, i.e., for the root *śraddhā*, to respect, to believe. श्रद्दधाति=सद्दहइ। सद्दहिअं॥

अवाद् गाहेर्वाहः॥३४॥ *Vāha* is substituted for the root *gāh*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i e., for √*avagāh*, to bathe. अवगाहते= ओवाहइ, अवबाहइ॥ Cf. IV. 21.

कासेर्वासः॥३५॥ *Vāsa* is substituted for the root *kās*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i.e., for the root *avakās*, to cough. अवकासते= ओवासइ, अववासइ॥

निरो माङो माणः॥३६॥ *Māna* is substituted for the root *mā*, preceded by the preposition *nir*, i.e, for the root *nirmā*, to make. निर्मीयते=णिम्माअइ॥ Hem णिम्माणइ, णिम्मवइ॥

क्षियो झिज्जः॥३७॥ *Jhijja* is substituted for the root *kshi*, to destroy. क्षिणोति=झिज्जइ॥ Hem. झिज्जइ, णिज्झरइ॥

भिदिच्छिदोरन्त्यस्य न्दः ॥३८॥ *Nda* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *bhid*, to break, and *chid*, to cut. भिनत्ति=भिन्दइ । छिनत्ति=छिन्दइ ॥ Hem. छिन्दइ, दुहावइ, णिच्छल्लइ, णिज्झोडइ, णिव्वरइ, णिल्लूरइ, लूरइ ॥

क्वथेर्ढः ॥३९॥ *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *krath*, to boil. क्वथति=कढइ ॥ Hem. कढइ, अढइ ॥

वेष्टेश्च ॥४०॥ *Dha* is also substituted for the final letter of the root *vesht*, to surround. वेष्टते=वेढइ ॥ Cowell suggests वेड्ढइ, वेढइ (III. 10), but cf. Hem. IV, 221. K.—वेढणं ; परिवेढिउं ॥ Hem. वेढइ, परिआलेइ ॥ The *yogavibhāga*, i.e., separation of *vesht* from the previous rule, is for the continuation of the *adhikāra* of this Sūtra to the following Sūtra.

उत्-समोर्ल्लः ॥४१॥ *La* is substituted for the final letter of the root *vesht*, preceded by the prepositions *ut* and *sam*. उव्वेल्लइ ; संवेल्लइ ॥

रुदेर्वः ॥४२॥ *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *rud*, to weep. रोदिति=रुवइ ॥ K. रुवेइ, रुविउं ॥ K. also allows doubling of the v. रुव्वइ ॥

उदो विजः ॥४३॥ Var. lect. °विजेः । *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *vij*, preceded by the preposition *ut*, i.e., for the root *udvij*, to fear. उद्विजते=उव्विवइ (K. उव्वेवइ) ॥

वृधेर्ढः ॥४४॥ *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *vridh*, to increase. वर्धते=वड्ढइ ॥

हन्तेर्म्मः ॥४५॥ *Mma* is substituted for the final letter of the root *han*, to strike. हन्ति=हम्मइ ॥

रुषादीनां दीर्घता ॥४६॥ In the roots, *rush*, etc., the vowel is lengthened. रुष्यति=रूसइ । तुष्यति=तूसइ । शुष्यति=सूसइ ॥

च्छो व्रज-नृत्योः ॥४७॥ *Chcha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *vraj*, to go, and *nrit*, to dance. व्रजति=वच्चइ । नृत्यति=णच्चइ ॥ Hem. also मद—मच्चइ ॥

युधि-बुद्धयोर्झः ॥४८॥ *Jha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *yudh*, to fight, and *budh*, to know. युध्यते=जुज्झइ । बुध्यते=बुज्झइ ॥

रुधेर्न्ध-म्भौ ॥४९॥ *Ndha* and *mbha* are substituted for the final letter of the root *rudh*, to check. रुणद्धि=रुन्धइ ; रुम्भइ ॥

मृदो लः ॥५०॥ *La* is substituted for the final letter of √*mṛid*, to grind मृद्नाति=मलइ ॥ Hem. मलइ, मढइ, परिहट्टइ, खड्डइ, चड्डइ, मड्डइ, पन्नाडइ ॥

शद्‌ल-पत्योर्डः ॥५१॥ Var. lect. शदि॰ (K.) ॥ *Da* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *śad*, to decay, and *pat*, to fall. शीयते=सडइ । पतति=पडइ ॥

शकादीनां द्वित्वम् ॥५२॥ The final letter of the roots *śak*, to be able, etc., is doubled. शक्नोति=सक्कइ ; लगति=लग्गइ ॥ Cf S. 70 ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

स्फुटि-चल्योर्वा ॥५३॥ The final letter of the roots *sphuṭ*, to blossom, and *chal*, to tremble, is doubled optionally. स्फुटति=फुट्टइ, फुडइ (*supra* II, 20) । चलति=चल्लइ, चलइ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

प्रादेर्मीलः ॥५४॥ When preceded by the prepositions, *pra*, etc., the final letter of the root *mīl*, to wink, is doubled optionally. प्रमीलति =पमिल्लइ, पमीलइ । संमिल्लइ ॥ उम्मिल्लइ ॥

भुजादीनां क्त्वा-तुमुन्-तव्येषु लोपः ॥५५॥ Var. lect. ॰परतो लोपः (K.) ॥ The final letter of the roots, *bhuj*, etc. is elided before the affixes *ktvā* (affix of the absolutive) *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle) भुक्त्वा=भोत्तूण ; भोक्तुम्=भोत्तुं ; भोक्तव्य=भोत्तव्वं । विद्—वेत्तूण वेत्तुं वेत्तव्वं । रुद्—रोत्तूण ; रोत्तुं ; रोत्तव्वं ॥ Cf. *supra* IV 23. The doubling of *t* in the alternative *tūṇa* is supposed to be explained by III, 58.

श्रु-हु-जि-लू-ध्वानां णोऽन्त्ये ह्रस्वः ॥५६॥ *Na* is to be employed at the end of the roots, *śru*, etc., and the long vowel in *lū* and *dhū* is to be shortened. श्रु—सुणइ ; हु—हुणइ ; जि—जिणइ ; लू—लुणइ ; धू—धुणइ ॥ According to some later authors, the case is optional with the root *ji*, to conquer. जयति=जिणइ, जअइ ॥

भावकर्मणोर्व्वश्च ॥५७॥ *Vva*, as well as *ya*, is to be employed at the end of the roots *śru*, etc. (S. 56) in the Bhāva* and the Karma-vāchya, i.e., when the passive voice is signified. श्रूयते=सुव्वइ, सुणिज्जइ। हुव्वइ, हुणिज्जइ। जिव्वइ ; जिणिज्जइ। लुव्वइ, लुणिज्जइ। धुव्वइ, धुणिज्जइ॥

गमादीनां द्वित्वं वा ॥५८॥ When the passive voice is signified, the final letter of the roots, *gam*, etc., is doubled optionally. Cf. *supra*, VII, 9 गम्यते=गम्मइ ; also गमिज्जइ, गमीअइ॥ रम्मइ ; रमिज्जइ, रमीअइ॥ हस्सइ, हसिज्जइ, हसीअइ॥ आकृतिगण॥ Hem. गम्— गम्मइ, हम्मइ, अईइ, अइच्छइ, अणुवज्जइ, अवज्जसइ, उक्कुसइ, अक्कुसइ, पच्चइ, पच्छन्दइ, णिम्महइ, णीइ, णीणइ, णीलुक्कइ, पदअइ, रम्भइ, परिअल्लइ, वोलइ, परिअलइ, णिरिणासइ, णिवहइ, अवसेहइ, अवहरइ॥

लिहेर्लिज्झः ॥५९॥ When the passive voice is signified, *lijjha* is substituted for the root *lih*, to lick लिज्झइ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Some later authors suggest *dubbha*, *libbha* and *vabbha* for the roots *duh*, *lih* and *vah* respectively.

हृ-क्रोर्हीर-कीरौ ॥६०॥ When the passive voice is signified, *hīra* and *kīra* are severally substituted for the roots *hṛ* and *kṛ*. ह्रियते=हीरइ। क्रियते=कीरइ॥

ग्रहेर्दीर्घो वा ॥६१॥ When the passive voice is signified, *ā* is optionally substituted for the *a* in the root *grah*, to seize. गृह्यते=गाहिज्जइ, गहिज्जइ॥ K. ignores this Sūtra.

क्तेन दिण्णादयः ॥६२॥ *Dinna*, etc., are used for some roots followed by *kta* (affix of the past participle). Cf. VII, 28, 32. दत्त=दिण्णं ; रुदित=रुण्णं ; त्रस्त=हित्थं ; दग्ध=दड्ढं ; रक्त, रञ्जित=रत्तं॥ आकृतिगण॥ Hem आक्रान्त=अप्फुण्णो ; उत्कृष्ट=उक्कोसं; स्पष्ट=फुडं (cf. स्फुट) ; अतिक्रान्त=वोलिणो ; विकसित=वोसट्टो ; निपातित=निसुट्टो ; रुग्ण=लुग्गो ; निलीन, नष्ट=ल्हिक्को ; प्रमुषित, प्रमृष्ट=पम्हुट्ठो ; अर्जित=विढत्तं ; स्पृष्ट=छित्तं ; स्थापित=निमिअं ; आस्वादित=चक्खिअं ; लून=लुअं ; त्यक्त=जढं ; क्षिप्त=झोसिअं ; उद्वृत or उद्वृत्त=निच्छूढं ; पर्य्यस्त=पल्हत्थं, पलोट्टं ; हेषित=हीसमणं॥

खिदेर्विसूरः ॥६३॥ *Visūra* is substituted for the root *khid*, to be distressed. खिद्यते=विसूरइ ॥ Some later authors prefer *jūra* and *visūra* for the root *khid*. जूरइ, विसूरइ ॥ Cf. S. 64. Hem. also has खिज्जइ ॥

क्रुधेर्जूरः ॥६४॥ *Jūra* is substituted for the root *krudh*, to be angry. क्रुध्यति=जूरइ ॥ Hem. also कुज्झइ ॥

चर्चेश्चम्पः ॥६५॥ *Champa* is substituted for the root *charch*, to study. चर्चति=चम्पइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

त्रसेर्वज्जः ॥६६॥ Var. lect. ॰वुंजः (K.) ॥ *Vajja* is substituted for the root *tras*, to fear. त्रसति=वज्जइ (Bh.); वुज्जइ (K.) ॥ Hem. डरइ, वज्जइ, वोज्जइ, तसइ ॥

मृजेर्लुभ-सुपौ ॥६७॥ Var lect. ॰लुह-पुसौ (K.) ॥ *Lubha* and *supa* according to Bh., but *luha* and *pusa* according to K., are substituted for the root *mṛij*, to cleanse मार्ष्टि=लुभइ, सुपइ, (Bh.); लुहइ, पुसइ (K.) ॥ For the forms *supa* and *pusa*, cf. *supra*, IV, 29. Hem. मज्जइ, उग्घुसइ, लञ्छइ, पुञ्छइ, पुंसइ, फुसइ, लुहइ, हुलइ, रोसाणइ ॥

वुड्ड-खुप्पौ मस्जेः ॥६८॥ Var. lect. बुड्ड॰ (K.) ॥ *Vutta* (or *vuḍḍa*) and *khuppa* are substituted for the root *masj*, to be immerged. मज्जति=वुड्डइ or बुड्डइ; खुप्पइ ॥ Cf. Pāli मज्जति=बुब्बइ ॥ For बुड्ड and बुब्ब, cf. *supra*, II, 2; IV, 29. Hem. मज्जइ, आउड्डइ, णिउड्डइ, बुड्डइ, खुप्पइ ॥

दृशेः पुलअ-णिअक्क-अवक्खाः ॥६९॥ *Pulaa*, *niakka* and *avakkha* are substituted for the root *dṛiś*, to see. पश्यति=पुलअइ, णिअक्कइ, अवक्खइ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K Hem. निअच्छइ, पेच्छइ, अवयच्छइ, अवयज्झइ, वज्जइ, सव्ववइ, देक्खइ, ओअक्खइ, अवक्खइ, अवअक्खइ पुलोएइ, पुलएइ, निअइ, अवआसइ, पासइ ॥

शकेस्तर-वअ-तीराः ॥७०॥ *Tara*, *vaa* and *tīra* are substituted for the root *śak*, to be able. Cf. S. 52. शक्नोति=तरइ, वअइ, तीरइ ॥ Hem. सक्कइ, चयइ, तरइ, तीरइ, पारइ ॥

शेषाणामदन्तता ॥७१॥ The *anubandha* or final part of the remaining roots are elided and the roots are considered as ending in *a*.

भ्रम्—भमइ ; चुब्—चुम्बइ ॥ Hem भ्रम्—टिरिटिल्लइ, दुण्दुल्लइ, ढण्ढल्लइ, चक्कम्मइ, भम्मडइ, भमडइ, भमाडइ, तलअण्टइ, झण्टइ, झम्पइ, भुमइ, गुमइ, फुमइ, फुसइ, दुमइ, दुसइ, परीइ, परइ, भमइ ॥

NOTES

Summary भू=हु, हुव , प्रभू=पभ त्वर्=तुवर घुण्=घोल ; तुद्=णोल्ल ; दृ=दूम , पट्=फल , पद्=पाल , वृष्=वरिस, cf कृष्, मृष्, हृष् ; मृ=मर, cf स्मृ, etc., कृ=कर, कुण ; जृम्=जम्भाअ , ग्रह्=गेण्ह , स्मृ=भर, सुमर ; भी=भा, बीह , घ्रा=घा, घाअ ; म्लै=वा, वाअ ; तृप्=थिम्प , ज्ञा=जाण, मुण , जल्प्=जम्प , स्था=ठाअ, cf ध्यै, गै ; खाद्=खा, cf धाव् , प्रसृ=विस . चि=चिण ; क्री=किण , विक्री=विक्के, विकिण ; उद्ध्मा=उद्धुमा , श्रद्धा=सद्दह ; अवगाह्=ओवाह ; अवकास्=ओवास ; निर्मा=णिम्माण ; खिद्=खिज्ज , भिद्=भिन्द, cf छिद् ; क्वथ्=कढ ; वेष्ट्=वेढ ; उद्वेष्ट्=उव्वेल्ल, cf संवेष्ट् ; रुद्=रुव ; उद्विज्=उव्विव , वृध्=वड्ढ ; हन्=हम्म ; रुष्=रूस, cf तुष्, etc.; व्रज्=वच्च, cf नृत् , युध्=जुज्झ, cf. बुध् ; रुध्=रुन्ध, रुम्भ , मृद्=मल , शद्=सड, cf. पत् , शक्=सक्क, तर, वअ, तीर, cf. लग् , etc., स्फुट्=फुट्ट, फुड ; cf चल् ; प्रमील्=पमिल्ल , श्रु=सुण ; cf हु, etc , गम्+यक्=गम्म, गम , लिह्+यक्=लिज्झ ; हृ+यक्=हीर, cf कृ ; ग्रह्+यक्=गाह, गाह ; खिद्=विसूर ; क्षुध्=जूर ; चर्च्=चम्प , त्रस्=वुज्ज ; मृज्=लुभ, सुप , मज्ज्=खुड्ड, खुप्प , दृश्=पुलअ, णिअच्छ, अवक्ख ॥ Grierson (*MASB*, VIII, 2) divides Prakrit roots into four classes: (1) those which are identical with the corresponding Sanskrit roots in meaning and form; (2) those which are regularly derived from corresponding Sanskrit forms according to ordinary phonetic rules; (3) those which cannot be connected with Sanskrit roots by the accepted rules of phonetics, and (4) those which are derived from Sanskrit but have changed their meanings and are therefore equated with some other Sanskrit roots with similar meaning by orthodox grammarians. The Prakrit roots are broadly classified by orthodox Indian authorities into (1) *tadbhava*, (2) *tatsama*, and (3) *desī* or *deśaja*. For these terms, see *Introductory Note.* The influence of provincial dialects

were gradually increasing Later authors usually suggest a large number of Prakrit substitutes for a single Sanskrit root

Prakrit Roots from Hemachandra Some of the substitutes suggested by Hem have already been noticed above. Some others are quoted below. कथ्=कह, वज्जर, पज्जर, उप्पाल, पिसुण, संघ, बोल्ल, चव, जम्प, सीस, साह, वुक्क ॥ जुगुप्स्=झुण, दुगुच्छ, दुगुञ्छ, जुगुच्छ, etc ॥ बुभुक्ष्=णीरव, बुभुक्ख ॥ वीज्=वोज्ज, वीज ॥ पिब्=पिज्ज, डल्ल, पट्ट, घोट्ट, पिअ ॥ उद्वा=ओरुम्मा, वसुआ, उव्वा ॥ निद्रा=ओहीर, उङ्घ, निद्दा ॥ म्ला=अब्भुत्त, ण्हा ॥ संस्त्यायति=संखाइ ॥ स्था=ठा, थक्क, चिट्ठ, णिरप्प ॥ उत्था=उट्ठ, उक्कुक्कुर ॥ छद्+णिच्=णुम, नूम, णूम, सन्नुम, ढक्क, ओम्वाल, पव्वाल, छाय ॥ निवारि=णिहोड, णिवार ॥ पाति=पाड, णिहोड ॥ तुल्=तुल, ओहाम ॥ विरेचि=ओलुण्ड, उल्लुण्ड, पल्हत्थ, विरेअ ॥ ताडि=ताड, आहोड, विहोड ॥ मिश्रि=वीसाल, मेलव, मिस्स ॥ उद्धूलि=गुण्ठ, उद्धूल ॥ भ्रामि=तालिअण्ट, तमाड, भाम, भमाड, भमाव ॥ नाशि=विउड, नासव, हारव, विप्पगाल, पलाव, नास ॥ दर्शि=दाव, दंस, दक्खव, दरिस ॥ उद्घाटि=उग्ग, उग्घाड ॥ स्पृहि=सिह ॥ संभावि=आसङ्घ, संभाव ॥ उन्नामि=उत्थङ्घ, उल्लाल, गुलुगुञ्छ, उप्पेल, उन्नाम ॥ प्रस्थापि=पट्ठव, पेण्डव, पट्ठाव ॥ विज्ञापि=वोक्क, अवुक्क, विण्णव ॥ आप=अल्लिव, चच्चुप्प, पणाम, अप्प ॥ यापि=जव, जाव ॥ प्लावि=ओम्वाल, पव्वाल, पाव ॥ विकोशि=पक्खोड, विकोस ॥ रोमन्थि=ओग्गाल, वग्गोल, रोमन्थ ॥ कामि=णिहुव, काम ॥ प्रकाशि=णुव्व, पयास ॥ कम्पि=विच्छोल, कम्प ॥ आरोहि=वल, आरोव ॥ दुलि=रङ्खोल, दोल ॥ रञ्जि=राव, रञ्ज ॥ घटि=परिवाड, घड ॥ वेष्टि=परिआल, वेढ ॥ राज्=अग्घ, छज्ज, सह, रीर, रेह, राय ॥ आली=अल्ली ॥ निली=णिलीअ, णिलुक्क, णिरिग्घ, लुक्क, लिक्क, ल्हिक्क, निलिज्ज ॥ विली=विरा, विलिज्ज ॥ रु=रुञ्ज, रुण्ट, रव ॥ श्रु=हण, सुण ॥ धू=धुण, धुव ॥ भू=हो, हुव, हव, भव ॥ निसृ=णीहर, नील, धाड, वरहाड, नीसर ॥ जागृ=जग्ग, जागर ॥ व्यापृ=आअड्ड, वावर ॥ संवृ=साहर, साहट्ट, संवर ॥ आदृ=सन्नाम, आदर ॥ प्रहृ=सार, पहर ॥ अवतॄ=ओह, ओरस, ओअर ॥ पच्=सोल्ल, पउल, पय ॥ मुच्=छड्ड अवहेड, मेल्ल, उस्सिक्क, रेअव, णिल्लुञ्छ, धंसाड, मुअ ॥ वञ्च्=वेहव, वेलव, जूरव, उमच्छ, वञ्च ॥ सिच्=सिञ्च, सिम्प, सेअ ॥ गर्ज्=बुक्क, गज्ज ॥ युज्=जुञ्ज, जुज्ज, जुप्प ॥ भुज्=भुञ्ज, जिम, जेम, कम्म, अण्ह, समाण, चमढ, चड्ड ॥ जन्=

जाअ, जम्म ॥ आरभ्=आरम्भ, आढव, आरभ ॥ आरभ्यते=आढप्पइ, आढवीअइ ॥ भ्रंश्=फिड, फिट्ट, फुड, फुट्ट, चुक्क, भुल्ल, भंस ॥ नश्=णिरणास, णिवह, अवसेह, पडिसा, सेह, अवहर, नस्स । निषेध्=हक्क. निसेह ॥ क्षप्=कमवस, लिस, लोट्ट, सुअ ॥ गुप्=विर, णाड, गुप्प ॥ मरड=चिंच, चिंचअ, चिंचिल्ल, रीड, टिविडिक, मरड ॥ प्रदीप्=तेअव, सन्दुम, सन्धुक्क, अब्भुत्त, पलीव ॥ क्षर्=खिर, झर, पज्झर, पच्चड, णिच्चल, णिट्टुअ ॥ स्पृश्=फास, फंस, फरिस, छिव, छिह, आलुङ्ख, आलिह । प्रविश्=रिअ, पविस । पिष्=णिवह, णिरिणास, णिरिणज्ज, रोञ्च, चड्ड, पीस ॥ गवेष्=दुण्दुल्ल, ढण्ढोल्ल, गमेस, घत्त, गवेस ॥ काङ्क्ष्=आह, अहिलङ्घ, अहिलङ्ख, वच्च, वम्फ, मह, सिह, विलुम्प, कङ्ख ॥ प्रतीक्ष्=सामय, विहीर, विरमाल, पडिक्ख । तक्ष्=तच्छ, चच्छ, रम्प, रम्फ, तक्ख ॥ हस्=हस, गुञ्ज ॥ त्रस्=डर, बोज्ज, वज्ज, तस ॥ उल्लस्=ऊसल, ऊसुम्भ, णिल्लस, पुलआअ, गुञ्जोल्ल, गुञ्जुल्ल, आरोअ, उल्लस ॥ आरुह्=चड, वलग्ग, आरुह ॥ etc., etc.

नवमः परिच्छेदः—निपाताः ॥

Chapter IX.—Indeclinable Particles.

This Chapter deals with interjections and other indeclinables. Note that some of the words can be derived from Sanskrit sources by applying phonetic rules

निपाताः ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra (supra,* I, 1, note) and the word *nipāta* (i.e. an indeclinable particle) is to be read in all the *Sūtras* of the section

हुं दान-पृच्छा-निर्द्धारणेषु ॥२॥ Hem. prefers निवारणे for निर्द्धारणे ॥ The particle *huṃ* is used in the sense of giving, asking or speaking emphatically. दान—गृहाण आत्मनः जीवम्=हुं गेण्ह अप्पणो जीअं ॥ पृच्छा—कथय साधुद्ध सद्भावम्=हुं कहेहि साहुद्ध सब्भावं ॥ निर्द्धारण—भव-तूष्णीकः=हुं हुवसु तुण्हिक्को ॥

विअ वेअ अवधारणे ॥३॥ *Via* and *vea* are used in the sense of asseveration. एवम् एव=एवं विअ, एवं वेअ ॥ For एव=वेअ, cf. IV 29.

ओ सूचना-पश्चात्ताप-विकल्पेषु ॥४॥ *O* is used in the sense of indica-

tion, remorse and indecision. ओ आअओ । ओ णिहओ राआ । ओ पुरिसो इमे ॥ Hem. omits पश्चात्ताप ॥

इर किर किल अनिश्चिताख्याने ।५॥ *Ira, kira* and *kila* are used in doubtful assertion प्रेंत्तस किल तेन हतः=पेक्ख इर तेण हदो । अद्य किल तेन व्यवसितः=अज्ज किर तेण ववसिओ ॥ अयं किल स्वप्न=अअं किल सिविणओ ॥ For किल=किर and किल=इर, see *supra*, II, 30, note, for the latter, cf also the rule regarding the elision of *k*, *supra*, II, 2 note Ins. किंचित्=किंचि, इंचि (C. Asia), etc.

हुं क्खु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावनेषु ॥६॥ K. has खु instead of क्खु. *Huṃ* and *kkhu* are used in the sense of resolution, doubt or reflection एसा हुं रमणी । सा क्खु कामिणी । सा क्खु पीडए ॥ Hem. हु खु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावन-विस्मये ॥

णवरः केवले ॥७॥ *Navara* is used in the sense of "only" केवलम् अन्नम्=णवर अण्णं ॥ एसो णवर कन्दप्पो, एसा णवर सा रई ॥

आनन्तर्ये णवरि ॥८॥ Var lect ०णवविअ (K) ॥ *Navari* (K *navaria*) is used in the sense of immediate sequence. K —हन्वा रावणं रामः गतः अनन्तरं प्रधाम्=हत्तूण रावणं रामो गओ णवरिअ (or, णवरि) प्पहं ॥

किणो प्रश्ने ॥९॥ *Kiṇo* is used in the sense of question किन्तु हससि =किणो हससि (Why are you laughing ?) ॥ Cf. Beng *kena*, pronounced *kæno*

अव्वो दुःख-सूचना-सम्भावनेषु ॥१०॥ Var lect अव्वो अम्मो दुःख-सूचनासम्भाषणेषु (K.) ॥ *Avvo*, according to Bh., is used in the sense of distress, indication or reflection, but according to K, *avvo* and *ammo* are used in the sense of distress, indication and address अहो कज्जलरसरञ्जिताभ्याम् अक्षिभ्याम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) कज्जलरसरंजिएहिं अच्छीहिं । अहो अपरमिव=अव्वो (or अम्मो) अवरं विअ । अहो एनम् इव अतुम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) णं मिव अत्तुं ॥ Hem अव्वो सूचनादुःखसंभाषणापराधविस्मयानन्दादरभयखेदविषाद-पश्चात्तापे ॥ अम्मो आश्चर्ये ॥

अलाहि निवारणे ॥११॥ *Alāhi* is used in the sense of opposition अलं कलहवन्धेन=अलाहि कलहवन्धेण ॥

अइ वले सम्भाषणे ॥१२॥ *Ai* and *vale* are used in the sense of addressing a person अपि मूलम् प्रशुष्यति=अइ मूलं पसूसइ (Is the root drying up?) ॥ किम् कलयसि अवले=वले किं कलसि अवले ॥ Hem. वले निर्धारण-निश्चययोः ॥ Cf. हले (Hem. II. 195) with वले ॥ Hem has अइ सम्भावने for ०सम्भाषणे ॥

णवि वैपरीत्ये ॥१३॥ *Navi* is used in the sense of contrariety. विपरीत तथा प्रहसति बाला=णवि तह पहसइ बाला ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K

सू कुत्सायाम् ॥१४॥ *Sū* is used in the sense of censure. धिक् खप्नः =सू सिविणो ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K Hem has *thū* for *sū*

रे अरे हिरे सम्भाषणरतिकलहाक्षेपेषु ॥१५॥ *Re, are* and *hire* are used in the sense of addressing a person, enjoyment, quarrelling and reproach Bh रे मा कुरुष्व=रे मा करेहि । नागः असि अरे=णाओ सि अरे । दृष्टः असि हिरे=दिट्ठो सि हिरे ॥ Bh. possibly takes *rati-kalaha* (cf. Hem.) as one word in composition. K. रे गच्छसु । अरे को सि । मुयसु मं हिरे ॥ Hem. prefers *re* for *sambhāshaṇa* and *are* for *rati-kalaha*.

म्मिव-मिव-विआ इवार्थे ॥१६॥ *Mmiva, miva* and *via* are used in the sense of *iva*, i.e., like गगनम् इव कृष्णम्=गअणं म्मिव (or मिव, or विअ) कसणं ॥ Hem. मिव पिव विव व्व व विअ इवार्थे वा ॥

अज्ज आमन्त्रणे ॥१७॥ *Ajja* is used in the sense of courteous address अहो महानुभाव किं करोषि=अज्ज महाणुहाव कि करेसि ॥ *Ajja* is no doubt the same as Sanskrit *ārya*. This *Sūtra* is ignored by K

शेषः संस्कृतात् ॥१८॥ The rest (i e all that has not been dealt with above), whether rules for letters, genders, derivatives, composition or affixes, etc , are to be learned from Sanskrit grammar But they are to be modified according to the rules given above in the work Note that Sanskrit was considered by orthodox grammarians to be the base of the Prakrit language. Hem. also gives a similar *Sūtra* at the end of his grammar; but he adds another important rule व्यत्ययश्च ॥ ४।४४७ ॥ which allows that all rules about the Prakrit dialects may have exceptions. His rule बहुलम् ॥१।२॥ also applies to all the *Sutras* of

his grammar and is explained as क्वचित् प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् अप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् विभाषा क्वचिद अन्यदेव भवति ॥

NOTES

Nipātas from Hemachandra. Cf. Hem, II, 175-218 Some of the rules have already been noticed above. तं वाक्योपन्यासे ॥ आम अभ्युपगमे ॥ णवरं कृतकरणे ॥ हन्दि विषाद-विकल्प-पश्चात्ताप-निश्चय-सत्ये ॥ हन्द च गृहाणार्थे ॥ जेण तेण लक्षणे ॥ णइ चेअ चिअ च अवधारणे ॥ किरेर हिर किलार्थे वा ॥ अण णाइं नञर्थे ॥ माइं मार्थे ॥ हद्धी निर्वेदे ॥ वेव्वे भय-वारण-विषादे ॥ वेव्व च आमन्त्रणे ॥ मामि हला हले सख्या वा ॥ दे संमुखीकरणे च ॥ ऊ गर्हाक्षेप-विस्मयसूचने ॥ हरे क्षेपे च ॥ वणे निश्चयविकल्पानुकम्प्ये च ॥ मणे विमर्शे ॥ स्वयमोर्थे अप्पणो न वा ॥ प्रत्येकमः पाडिक्कं पाडिएक्कं ॥ उअ पश्य ॥ इहरा इतरथा ॥ एक्कसरिअं झगिति संप्रति ॥ मोरउल्ला मुधा ॥ दराधाल्पे ॥ इ-जे-राः पादपूरणे ॥ प्यादयः ॥

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS

दशमः परिच्छेदः ।—पैशाची ॥

Chapter X—Paisachi

Paiśāchī is said to be the language of the Piśāchas or goblins It is believed to have referred to the corrupt Aryan speech adopted by or prevalent among the neighbours of the Indo-Aryans who were usually imbued with Aryan culture and sometimes also with Aryan blood In some cases, Paiśāchī characteristics are noticed in the inscriptions of Northwest and South India They may be due to Iranian and Dravidian influence on Indo-Aryan speech The non-aspiration often noticed in the records of those regions is apparently due to the foreign influence The name Paiśāchī is sometimes applied to Pāli. According to Grierson, the Paiśāchī dialects are probably local varieties of Pāli which was much mixed with the different forms of Indo-Aryan speech and in certain respects had drawn upon Paiśāchī. This feature has been explained by pointing to the fact that Taxila, the great Buddhist university of the early period, was situated in the

country which was the home of the standard Kaikeyī Paiśāchī. The above fact however only shows the cosmopolitan character of Pāli which drew upon many dialects including those of Northwest and South India For the spurious nature of chapters X-XII and for some observations on Paiśāchī Prakrit, see *Introduction* above. There is no commentary of K on these chapters.

The source of Paiśāchī is said to be Saurasenī (*infra*, XII). Orthodox grammarians therefore refer only to those points on which the former differs from the latter.

पैशाची ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 2, note) indicating that the following rules of the chapter describe the characteristics of the Paiśāchī variety of Prakrit speech.

प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी ॥२॥ Paiśāchī has the characteristics of Saurasenī and the following rules refer only to additional peculiarities of the dialect

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोरयुजोरनाद्योराद्यौ ॥३॥ When non-initial and single, the third and fourth letters of a *varga* are substituted by the first and second letters respectively. गगन=गकनं (S. 5), मेघ=मेखो ; राजा=राचा, वडिश=वटिसं, दशवदन=दसवतनो ; माधव=माथवो ; गोविन्द=गोपिन्दो ; केशव=केसपो ; सरभसं=सरफसं ; सरभ=सलफो ॥ Why "single"? संगामो, वग्घो ॥ Why "non-initial"? गमन=गमन ॥ Cf Hem., *infra* notes.

इवस्य पिव ॥४॥ The particle *iva* is substituted by *piva*. कमलं पिव मुखं ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16; *infra*, XII, 24.

णो नः ॥५॥ *N* is substituted by *n* (cf. *supra*, II, 42). तरुणी=तलुनी ॥

ष्टस्य सटः ॥६॥ The conjunct *shṭ* is substituted by *saṭa* (cf *supra*, III, 10, also vowel-augmentation, *supra*, III, 59ff.) कष्ट=कसटं ॥

स्नस्य सनः ॥७॥ The conjunct *sn* is substituted by *sana* (cf III, 33 ; 62). स्नान=सनानं ; स्नेह=सनेहो ॥

र्यस्य रिअः ॥८॥ The conjunct *ry* is substituted by *ria* (cf. *supra*, III, 17-21; *infra*, X, 11; XI.7). भार्या=भारिआ ॥

ज्ञस्य ञ्ञः ॥९॥ The conjunct *ññ* is substituted for *jñ* (cf. III, 5 and 44, XII, 6-7, also Hem., *infra*, XI, Notes). विज्ञात=विञ्ञातो ; सर्वज्ञ =सव्वञ्ञो ॥

कन्यायां न्यस्य ॥१०॥ The conjunct *ny* in the word *kanyā* is substituted by *ññ* कन्या=कञ्ञा ॥ Cf. Hem. न्यण्योर्ञ्ञः, *infra*, Notes

ज्ज च्च ॥११॥ The cojunct *jj* (which is the Mahārāshtrī-Saurasenī modification of Sanskrit *ry*, cf *supra*, III, 17, X, 8) is substituted by *chch*. कार्य=कज्जं=कच्चं ॥

राज्ञो राचि टा-ङसि-ङस्-ङिषु वा ॥१२॥ When followed by *ṭā* (inst sing), *ṅasi* (abl sing.), *ṅas* (gen. sing) and *ṅi* (loc. sing), the word *rājan* is substituted by *rāchi* optionally. राज्ञा=राचिना, रञ्ञा ; राज्ञि= राचिनि, रञ्ञि ॥ But in the other case-affixes : राचा ; राचानं ; रञ्ञो ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

क्तूस्तून ॥१३॥ Var. lect. क्त्तूनं ॥ The absolutive verbal affix *ktvā* is substituted by *tūna* (or *tūnam*) कृत्वा=कातून (or कातूनं) ॥ Cf. Hem. *infra*, Notes.

हृदयस्य हिअअकं ॥१४॥ The word *hṛdaya* is substituted by *hiaakam*. Cf. Hem , *infra*, Notes.

NOTES

Paisāchī as known to Hemachandra In Hem grammar (VIII, IV, 303-24) we have the following account of Paiśāchī Consonants as a rule are not elided ज्ञ=ञ्ञ ॥ पञ्ञा ॥ ज्ञ in the declensional forms of the word राजन् is optionally substituted by चिञ् ॥ राज्ञा=राचिञा ; राज्ञः= राचिञो ॥ न्य, ण्य =ञ्ञ ॥ कञ्ञका ; पुञ्ञकम्मो ॥ ण is substituted by न ॥ त is not dropped as in Mahārāshtrī and not changed to द as in Saurasenī. But द is changed to त ॥ मदन=मतनो ; वतनकं ; तामो·

तरो ॥ ल is changed to ळ ॥ कुळं ; जळं ॥ Cf. *supra*, II, 23, note. हृदय=हितपकं ॥ This may be due to mislection of हितयक in the source of Hem. But the form हितपक can be supported if we follow the process: हृदयक=हिदवक=हितपक ॥ कुटुम्ब=कुतुम्बकं ॥ ट्वा=तून ॥ गन्तून ; पठितून ; करितुन ॥ But ष्ट्वा= द्धून, त्थून ॥ नष्ट्वा=नद्धून, नत्थून । दृष्ट्वा=तद्धून, तत्थून ॥ Occasionally र्यं=रिय ॥ भारिया ॥ Similalry सिनात', कसट' ; but सुज्जो, सुनुसा, तिट्ठो ॥ These are really examples of vowel-augmentation. यादृश=यातिसो ; also तातिसो, etc. Passive voice is indicated by इय्य । गीयते=गिय्यते ॥ दिय्यते, पठिय्यते ॥ But क्रियते=कीरते ॥ The future termination is एय्य instead of स्सि of Sauraseni. एय्य is however the optative form used for the future which is lost. Thus हुवेय्य (=भवेत्) is used for भविष्यति ॥ Abl. sing. term of words ending in *a*, is *āto* and *ātu*. (ot *d* of Sauraseni changed to *t*). दूरात्=दूराती, तूरातु ॥ तेन, अनेन=नेन ॥ अनया=नाए ॥

Chūlikā Paiśāchī. Hemachandra also describes a variety of the Paiśāchī dialect, which is called the Chūlikā Paiśāchī. It differs from the Paiśāchī described by Hem only on the following points. (1) The third and fourth letters of a *varga* are respectively substituted by its first and second letters. According to some authorities, the substitution does not take place when the third or fourth letter is at the beginning of a word or is in a word formed of the root *yuj*. दामोतर ; भक्वती , but नियोजितं ॥ Cf. *supra*, X, 3. (2) The consonant *r* is optionally changed to *l*. गौरी=गोली ॥ Cf Hem , *infra*, XI, Notes Note that Vararuchi's Paiśāchī resembles Hemachandra's Chūlikā Paiśāchī For an elaborate early account of the Paiśāchī dialects as given by Purushottama, see Appendix.

एकादशः परिच्छेदः ।—मागधी ॥

Chapter XI.—Māgadhī.

Māgadhī literally indicates the language of Magadha (South Bihār). It is supposed to have been the Prakrit speech prevalent in

Eastern India. According to the Indian dramatic convention, Māgadhī is to be spoken by persons working in the king's harem (*rājāntaḥpurachārin*), while the dialect known as Ardha-Māgadhī is to be used by the servants, princes and *śreshṭhins*. The basis of Māgadhī is said to be Saurasenī and orthodox grammarians only deal with the points whereon the former differs from the latter.

मागधी ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the characteristics of the Māgadhī variety of Prakrit speech

प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी ॥२॥ The basis of Magadhī is Saurasenī. Cf. X, 2.; *infra*, XII.

षसोः शः ॥३॥ *S* is substituted for both *sh* and *s*; cf. *supra*, II, 43. माष=माशे ; विलास=विलाशे (cf. *infra*, S 10). ॥ Note that the Kāyethī script prevalent in South Bihār has only the palatal sibilant and that in Bengali all the three sibilants are pronounced like the palatal. This peculiarity is indicated in some early inscriptions, e.g., in the Jogimara Cave Inscription. In the Nagarjuni Cave Inscriptions, *sh* is used for both *s* and *ś*. This fact seems to refer to the peculiarity of pronunciation recognised in the present Sūtra. For the change of *r* to *l* and of *ṇy*, *ny*, *jñ* and *ñj* to *ññ*, see Hem., *infra*, Notes.

जोः यः ॥४॥ The consonant *j* is substituted by *y*. जायते=यायदे ॥ Note that Aśoka's Kharoshṭhī records have कंबोय, समाय, राया, but also मजूर ॥ Cf. *supra*, II, 31.

चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तथोच्चारणः ॥५॥ *Lassen suggests the emendation* चवर्गस्यास्पष्टता॰ and Cowell, चवर्गस्यास्पृष्टता॰ ॥ This *Sūtra* seems to point to niceties of pronunciation. It may refer affirmatively or negatively to the pronunciation of *ch*, *j*, etc., as *ts*, *dj*, etc., as is now the case in Eastern Bengal. On the strength of the views expressed by Purushottama (see Appendix), Nitti-Dolchi thinks that no emendation of the *Sutra* is necessary, she suggests that letters of the *cha-*

varga were pronounced possibly as dento-palatals in both Mahārāshṭrī and Sauraseni

हृदयस्य हडक्कः ॥६॥ *Hadakka* is substituted for the word *hridaya*.

र्य-र्जयोर्य्यः ॥७॥ The conjuncts *ry* and *rj* are substituted by *yy*. कार्य=कय्ये ; दुर्जन=दुय्यणे (cf. S. 10) ॥

क्षस्य स्कः ॥८॥ *Ksh* is substituted by *sk* (cf. *supra*, III, 29-30). दक्ष=दस्के ; राक्षस=लस्कशे ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes Ins. हुविस्क, हुविष्क ; but पुष्कर=पोक्खराणि ॥

अस्मदः सौ हके हगे अहके ॥९॥ When followed by *su* (nom. sing.), the pronoun *asmad* is substituted by *hake*, *hage* and *ahake*. अहम्=हके ; हगे ; अहके ॥ Cf. Aśokan Ins हकं ॥

अत इदेतौ लुक् च ॥१०॥ When the case-affix *su* (nom. sing.) follows a word ending in *a*, *su* is either elided or is substituted by *i* or *e*. एषः राजा=एशि लाआ । एषः पुरुषः=एशे पुलिशे, एश पुलिश ॥

क्तान्तादुश्च ॥११॥ In words formed by *kta*, the verbal affix of the past participle, *su* (nom. sing.) is either elided or is substituted by *u*, *i*, or *e*. हसित=हशिदु, also हशिदि, हशिदे, हसिद ॥ Cf. VII, 28 and 32, VIII, 2, 5, 62; and *infra*, S. 16.

ङसो हो वा दीर्घश्च ॥१२॥ The case-affix *nas* (gen. sing) is optionally substituted by *ha* and the preceding vowel is lengthened. पुरुषस्य=पुलिशाह, also पुलिशश्श ॥ Cf *supra*, V, 8; also Hem., *infra*, *Notes*.

अदीर्घः सम्बुद्धौ ॥१३॥ In the vocative, the final vowel of the words ending in *a* is lengthened. हे पुरुष=पुलिशा ॥

चिट्ठस्य चिष्ठः ॥१४॥ *Chittha*, the Saurasenī form (XII, 16) of the Sanskrit root *tishtha* (i.e., *sthā*), is substituted by *chishṭha*. पुरुष॰ तिष्ठति=पुलिशे चिष्ठदि ॥

कृञ्-मृङ्-गमां क्तस्य डः ॥१५॥ The present participial affix *kta* after

the roots *kṛt*, *mṛi* and *gam* is substituted by *d*. कृत=कडे ; मृत=मडे ; गत=गडे ॥ Cf. Aśokan कटे, मुटे, etc

क्त्वो दाणिः ॥१६॥ The absolutive affix *ktvā* is substituted by *dāni*. कृत्वा आगतः=करिदाणि आअडे ॥

शृगालस्य शिआला-शिआले-शिआलका: ॥१७॥ The word *śṛgāla* is substituted by *śiālā*, *śiāle* and *śiālaka*.

NOTES

Māgadhī as described by Hemachandra. Hema., IV, 287-302. Nom sing. forms of masc. words ending in *a* is obtained by substituting *e* for *a*. एषः=एशे ; मेषः=मेशे ॥ *R* and *s* (also *sh*) are respectively substituted by *l* and *ś*. सारसः=शालशे ; पुरुषः=पुलिशे ॥ [Cf रसोर्लशौ ॥४।२८८॥ Note that the important feature *r* changed to *l* is ignored by Vararuchi]. In conjuncts, however, *s* is not changed, while *sh* is changed to *s*. भीमसेनस्स । शुस्कं, कस्टं ॥ The operation of the rules of assimilation is partially suspended and conjuncts like स्स, स्प, ह्न, स्ट, स्त, ष्क, स्क and स्ठ, not used in the other forms of Prakrit speech, are used in Māgadhī But Māgadhī passages in dramas do not always conform to this rule ज, य=य ॥ द्य =य्य ॥ अर्जुन=अय्युणे । मद्य=मय्य' । यदि=यदि and not जदि (cf. *supra* II, 31). But व्रजति=वञ्जदि ॥ Initial ज=य । जनपदः=यणवदे ॥ त=द as in Saurasenī, Gen sing. termination of words ending in *a* is आह, and gen. plu. term. is आहँ optionally. इदृशस्य=एलिशाह ; शोणितस्य=शोणिदाह । सज्जनानाम्=शय्यणाहँ ॥ The usual forms like भीमसेनस्स, नलिन्दाणं are also found अहम्, वयम्=हगे ॥ ट, ष्ठ=स्ट । भट्टिनी=भस्टिणी ; कोष्ठागार=कोस्टागालं ॥ स्थ, र्थ=स्त । उपस्थित=उवस्तिदे, अर्थवती=अस्तवदी ॥ न्य, ण्य, ज्ञ, ञ्ज=ञ्ञ ॥ अभिमन्यु=अहिमञ्ञु ; पुण्य=पुञ्ञं ; अवज्ञा=अवञ्ञा ; अञ्जलि=अञ्ञली ॥ Non-initial च्छ=श्च । गच्छ=गश्च ; even वत्सल=वच्छल=वश्चले ॥ Non-initial क्ष=ᐳᐸक ; but initial क्ष=स । यक्ष=यᐳᐸके, राक्षस=लᐳᐸकशे ॥ क्ष=स्क in the roots प्रेक्ष् and आचक्ष् ॥ पेस्कदि; आचस्कदि ॥

For another early treatment of the Māgadhī, see Appendix.

Ardha-Māgadhī. According to Hemachandra, only one of the characteristics of Māgadhī applies to the Ārsha or Ardha-Māgadhī variety of Prakrit The rule is regarding the change of *a* to *e* of masculine words ending in *a* when they are followed by *su* (nom. sing.) No other rule of Māgadhī applies to Ardha-Māgadhī. It is the language of the Jain canonical literature Hem (I, 3) says that all the rules of the Ārsha Prakrit are optional. The name Ardha-Māgadhī or Half-Māgadhī is sought to be explained by suggesting that it was the language of the land between Magadha (South Bihār) and Śūrasena (Mathurā) or that it had the characteristics of both the Māgadhī and Saurasenī Prakrits According to some scholars, it was the language of Oudh The A. Mg however seems to have drawn upon different provincial dialects.

द्वादशः परिच्छेदः ।—शौरसेनी ॥

Chapter XII.—Śaurasenī.

Saurasenī means the language of the Śūrasena country (mod. Mathurā region), but it is supposed to have been prevalent in the Madhyadeśa, i e, the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna The basis of the Saurasenī Prakrit is said to be Mahārāshṭrī (cf *supra* I-IX) [It has however been recently suggested that Mahārāshṭrī is a later phase of Saurasenī] Grammarians therefore deal only with those points on which the former differs from the latter. In dramas, this variety of Prakrit is used by respectable ladies in their prose conversations As Saurasenī is said to be the basis of both Paiśāchī and Māgadhī, Ch. X and Ch. XI should have followed Ch XII. Note that neither Bh. nor K. has commented on this chapter.

शौरसेनी ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the peculiarities of the Saurasenī variety of Prakrit.

प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम् ॥२॥ Sanskrit forms the basis on which the peculiarities of this dialect are engrafted The author seems to

suggest that Saurasenī is more closely related to Sanskrit than any other of the Prakrit dialects.

अनादावयुजोस्तथयोर्दधौ ॥३॥ When non-initial and single, *t* and *th* are substituted by *d* and *dh* respectively गच्छति=गच्छदि ; कथय=कधेहि ॥

व्यापृते डः ॥४॥ *T* of the word *vyāprita* is substituted by *d*. वावुडो ॥ Ins. वियापुट, वियापट, वापट ॥

पुत्रेऽपि क्वचित् ॥५॥ *T* of the word *putra* is also sometimes substituted by *d*. पुड्डो ; also पुत्तो ॥

इ गृध्र-समेषु ॥६॥ In the words like *gridhra*, *ri* is substituted by *i* गृध्र=गिद्धो ॥ This rule seems to be a modification of *supra*, I, 27 and 29 ; cf. also *ibid*, S 28

ब्रह्मण्य-विज्ञ-यज्ञ-कन्यकानां ण्य ज्ञ-न्यानां ञ्ञो वा ॥७॥ *Ny*, *jñ* and *nya* in the words *brahmanya*, *vijña* *yajña* and *kanyakā* are optionally substituted by *ññ* (cf. *supra*, III, 2 and 44). ब्रह्मण्य=बम्हञ्ञं, also बम्हण्णं ; विज्ञ=विञ्ञो, विण्णो ; यज्ञ=जञ्ञो, जण्णो , कन्यका=कञ्ञका, कण्णका ॥

सर्वज्ञेङ्गितयोर्णः ॥८॥ *Jñ* of the word *sarvajña* (cf. *supra*, III, 5) and *ng* of the word *ingita* (Mahārāshṭrī *iṃgiaṃ*) are substituted by *n*. सव्वण्णो । इण्णिदो ॥

क्त्व इअः ॥९॥ The absolutive affix *ktvā* is substituted by *ia* (cf. *supra*, IV, 23). कृत्वा=करिअ ; गत्वा=गमिअ ; पठित्वा=पढिअ ॥ Cf. Beng. करिया ॥ etc

कृ-गमोर्डुअः ॥१०॥ When following the roots *kri* and *gam*, the affix *ktvā* is substituted also by *dua*. कृत्वा=कडुअ, also करिअ ; गत्वा=गडुअ, also गमिअ ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

णिर्जश्शसोर्वा क्लीवे स्वरदीर्घश्च ॥११॥ The case-affixes *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) after neuter words are optionally substituted by *ni* and the preceding vowel is lengthened. जलाणि, also जलाइं , वणाणि, also वणाइं ॥

भो भुवस्तिङि ॥१२॥ When followed by *tin* (i.e., the conjugational

affixes of verbs) the root *bhū* is substituted by *bho*. भवति=भोदि ; भवतु=भोदु ॥

न लृटि ॥१३॥ The substitution of *bhū* by *bho* does not take place when it is followed by the conjugational affix *lṛt* indicating future tense. भविष्यति=भविस्सदि, हुविस्सदि ॥

ददातेर्दे दइस्स लृटि ॥१४॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, *dā* is substituted by *de*. ददाति=देदि ; ददातु=देदु ॥ But when followed by *lṛt* (conjugational affix of the future tense), *dā* is substituted by *daissa*. दास्यामि=दइस्सं ॥

डुकृञः करः ॥१५॥ The root *kṛ*, when followed by conjugational affixes, is substituted by *kara* (VIII, 13) करोति=करोदि, करेदि ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं ॥

स्थश्चिट्ठः ॥१६॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, the root *sthā* is substituted by *chiṭṭha* तिष्ठति=चिट्ठदि ; स्थास्यामि=चिट्ठिस्सं ॥ Cf. XI, 14

स्मरतेः सुमरः ॥१७॥ The root *smṛ* is substituted by *sumara* (cf *supra*, VIII, 18) स्मरति=सुमरेदि , स्मृत्वा=सुमरिअ ॥

दृशेः पेक्ख ॥१८॥ The root *dṛś* is substituted by *pekkha* पश्यति =पेक्खदि ; दृष्ट्वा=पेक्खिअ ॥ Cf. VIII, 69

अस्तेरच्छः ॥१९॥ The root *as* in the substituted by *achchha*. सन्ति =अच्छन्ति ॥ Cf हक्छति(हच्छति?) in Central Asian documents; Beng. सन्ति, अस्ति=आछे ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 6f.

तिपात्थि ॥२०॥ The root *as* when followed by *tip* (3rd pers. sing. pres) is substituted by *attha* अस्ति=अत्थि ॥

भविष्यति मिपा स्सं वा स्वरदीर्घश्च ॥२१॥ In the future tense the conjugational affix *mip* (1st pers. sing) is substituted by *ssam*, and the preceding vowel is lengthened optionally. गमिष्यामि=गमिस्सं, गमीसं ; भविष्यामि=भविस्सं, भवीसं ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं, करीसं ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 14.

स्त्रियामित्थी ॥२२॥ The word *strī* is substituted by *itthī*, इत्थी ॥ Cf. Aśokan इथीमक ॥

एवस्य ज्जेव्व ॥२३॥ The particle *eva* is substituted by *jjevva* एव=ज्जेव्व ॥ Cf Mahārāshtrī एअ, एव्व (III, 58; IV, 5), विअ, वेअ (IX, 3).

इवस्य विअ ॥२४॥ The particle *iva* is substituted by *via* इव=विअ ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16

अस्मदो जसा वअं च ॥२५॥ *Vaam* is optionally substituted for the pronoun *asmad* with the case-affix *jas* (nom plu) वयम्=वअं; also अम्हे (*supra*, VI, 43) ॥

सर्वनाम्नां के स्सि त्था [Sic. ०ङेः स्सि-त्थौ?] ॥२६॥ The text of the *Sūtra* is corrupt. *Ssim*, *mmi* and *ttha* as substitutes of *ni* (loc sing) are enjoined for Mahārāshtrī (*supra*, VI, 2, and 7 for *him*) Lassen therefore suggested that the correct reading of the *Sūtra* would be either ङेः स्सि-त्थौ or ङेः स्सि-हिं-त्थाः ॥ Cowell who thinks that only *mmi* is to be avoided has no doubt that the reading intended is ङेः स्सि-त्थौ ॥ Chatterji suggests ङेः स्सि वा ॥ Ex. पुव्वस्सि, पुव्वस्सिं ॥ The text of Purushottama would suggest the correction सर्वनाम्नां टाङसुङिभ्येत् ॥ कि-यत्तद्भ्यो ङेर्हिं स्सित्थाः ॥

धातोर्भाव-कर्तृ-कर्मसु परस्मैपदम् ॥२७॥ Only *parasmaipadī* conjugational affixes are used in Śaurasenī क्रियते=करीअदि; गम्यते=गमीअदि ॥

अनन्त्य एच ॥२८॥ The *Sūtra* which may be corrupt seems to suggest optional forms like करीएदि, गमीएदि (cf. S 27), करेदि ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 34 Purushottama has धातोस्तिवादावेदातौ बहुलम् ॥

मिपो लोटि च ॥२९॥ The text may be corrupt Cf. *supra*, VII, 18; XII, 28. The conjugational affix of the 1st pers. sing. of the imperative mood is substituted by *e* optionally. भवेयम्=भवे, also होमु ॥

आश्चर्यस्याच्छरिअं ॥३०॥ The word *āścharya* is substituted by *achchhariam*. आश्चर्य=अच्छरिअं ॥ Cf. *supra*, III, 18.

प्रकृत्या दोला-दण्ड-दशनेषु ॥३१॥ *D* in the words *dolā*, *daṇḍa* and *daśana* is not substituted by *ḍ* as in Mahārāshtrī (*supra*, II, 35).

शेषं महाराष्ट्रीवत् ॥३२॥ Excepting the peculiarities noticed above, the Śaurasenī dialect has the same characteristics as the Mahārāshtrī (*supra*, I-IX)

NOTES

Śaurasenī as described by Hemachandra Cf. Hem. IV, 260-86. Hem notices the following peculiarities of Śaurasenī Non-initial and single *t* is changed to *d* In a few cases, *t* in a conjunct is also changed, सउन्दला ; महन्दो (=महन्तो<महान्), निच्चिन्दो ; अन्देउरं ॥ Initial *t* is changed optionally in तावत्=दाव, ताव ॥ र्य is changed to य्य or ज्ज, थ is changed to ध or ह ॥ आदो and आदु are abl. sing terminations for the bases ending in *a*. Words ending in *n*, optionally get *ā* (which is possibly a modification of the *svārthika* affix *ka* added to Sanskrit words) or the *anusvāra*, in voc. sing भो कञ्चुकिन्=कञ्चुइआ ; भो सुखिन्=सुहिआ ; भो राजन्=रायं ; भो विजयवर्मन्=विअयवम्मं, but also भो तवस्सि, भो मनस्सि ॥ भवत् and भगवत् are changed to भवं and भगवं (also भयवं) in nom sing and voc sing Conjugational affixes· ति and ते are changed to दि and दे ॥ The future termination is स्सि and not हि, स्स or ह as in Mahārāshtrī. भविस्सिदि ; पढिस्सिदि ॥ Note that भ is not modified in the root भू ॥ क्त्वा is changed to इय or दूण ॥ भूत्वा=भविय ; भोदूण ; also भोत्ता । पठित्वा =पढिय, पढिदूण, also पढित्ता ॥ कृत्वा and गत्वा have the additional forms कडुअ and गडुअ respectively. इदानीं=दाणिं ॥ तस्मात्=ता ॥ युक्तम् इदम्=जुत्तं णिमं, जुत्तमिणं । सदृशम् इदम्=सरिसं णिमं, सरिसमिणं । किम् इदम्=किं णेदं, किमेदं । एवम् इदम्=एवं णेदं, एवमेदं ॥ एव=य्येव ॥ हञ्जे used in addressing a *cheṭi* or maid-servant. हञ्जे चदुरिके ॥ In the sense of surprise and disgust or despair—हीमाणहे ॥ ननु=णं ॥ In the sense of delight—अम्महे ॥ In the sense of a court-jester's delight—हीही ॥ इह=इह, इध, होध । परित्रायध=परित्तायध, परित्तायह ॥ पूर्व=पुव्वं, पुरवं ॥ For another early and detailed treatment of the Śaurasenī Prakrit, see Appendix, pp. 106-09.

APPENDIX

PURUSHOTTAMADEVA'S PRAKRITANUSASANA

Chapters IX—XX

The Ms of Purushottamadeva's *Prākṛitānuśāsana* edited by L Nitti-Dolchi (Paris, 1938) is dated in the year 385 of the Nepal era corresponding to 1265 A.D. This Purushottama seems to have been the same as the author of the *Bhāshāvṛitti*, *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, *Hārāvalī* and *Chhandomakhānta*, the first three of the works being referred to in Vandyaghatīya Sarvānanda's *Ṭīkāsarvasva* (commentary on the *Amarakośa*) composed in Saka 1082=A D. 1159. He probably lived in the 12th century in Bengal and was a contemporary of the Bengali authors Sarvānanda and Jayadeva (author of the *Gītagovinda*), and also of the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A D.) of Gujarāt. The sections of the *Prākṛitānuśāsana* quoted below are very important for the study of the minor Prakrit dialects It is the earliest detailed treatment of the subject

Chapter IX.—Śauraseni Bhāshā.

अथ शौरसेनी ॥१॥ संस्कृतानुगमाद्बहुलम् ॥२॥ शेषे महाराष्ट्री ॥३॥ स्त्रादौ(?) ॥४॥ नाङ्गाराद्याविङ्गालादयः ॥५॥ ईदृशादौ ॥६॥ तथा भावकर्मणोः श्रणोत्यादेर्न सुव्वादयः ॥७॥ तथा भुजादेस्तुंतव्ययोर्न भोट(द)ादयः प्रायः ॥८॥ अयुजामनादौ तथपफ(?*) दृधवभा बहुलमपताकाव्यापृतगर्वितेषु ॥९॥ थस्य धः ॥१०॥ पस्य वः ॥११॥ फस्य भः ॥१२॥ भरते तो धः ॥१३॥ दधवयाः प्रकृत्या ॥१४॥ दधावस्पष्टमुच्चार्यौ ॥१५॥ अदितौ च यवत् ॥१६॥ क्कारः प्रकृत्याभदनिकादेः ॥१७॥ एयजन्याना ञ्ञो वा ॥१८॥ ज्ञस्य णश्च ॥१९॥ आर्यादौ न र्यस्य ज्जः ॥२०॥ चेतादिषु त्तस्य ख ॥२१॥ दशचतुर्दशयोः शस्य हो वा ॥२२॥ न नो(म्नि*) हः ॥२३॥ अश्रुणि वाष्पस्य वप्फवाहौ ॥२४॥ अपूर्वस्यावरूवं वा ॥२५॥ इदानीं दाणि पदान्ते ॥२६॥ इत्थी स्त्रियाः ॥२७॥ एवस्य य्येव ॥२८॥ इवस्य विअः ॥२९॥ आश्चर्यस्याच्छरीअं ॥३०॥ शत्रुघ्नादिषु सत्तुद्द(ह?)ादयः ॥३१॥ तावकमामकादेः (?) ॥३२॥ नाम्नि(किं?)चिदादयः ॥३३॥ भागधेयं पुंसे(सि) च ॥३४॥ गोणः क्लीवे च ॥३५॥ सन्धिः संस्कृतबहुलम् ॥३६॥ पुनरप्यार्थे पुणवि पुणोवि ॥३७॥ काल्य-पोरिअः ॥३८॥ कृत्वागत्वा कदुअगदुओ ॥३९॥ त्वतलोर्दात्तणौ ॥४०॥ णिच आव

आवे ॥४१॥ ङसेर्दो दीर्घश्चान् कचित ॥४२॥ कारणान्तं(न्त)ङसेरात् ॥४३॥ हिन्तो भ्यसः ॥४४॥ अदन्ताच्ङसो हाण हाएव(?) ॥४५॥ ङेत्तें(रेत्) ॥४६॥ ङ(इ)दुदन्तादी-(दो) णो च जश्शसोरेक(रन्त्य?)दीर्घश्च ॥४७॥ स्त्रियां जश्शसोरोत् ॥४८॥ टाङस्ङिस्वेत् ॥४९॥ सर्वनाम्नश्च ॥५०॥ किंयत्तद्भ्यो ङे हिंस्सित्थाः ॥५१॥ पुंसि टाङसों(सां)सु इदन्तवत् ॥५२॥ षष्ठ्यन्तस्य तद् स्त्रियां से च ॥५३॥ पदस्य ॥५४॥ इदमः सावयं ॥५५॥ अमि णं च ॥५६॥ इमाणमामि ॥५७॥ अस्सिनिमस्सिव ङौ ॥५८॥ त्रियामिदं सौ ॥५९॥ क्लीबे सत्मोरिदमिमव ॥६०॥ एतद एदाणमाने(मि) ॥६१॥ युष्मद् सत्मोस्तुनं ॥६२॥ ङौ तइ तए ॥६३॥ अस्मदोह(ऽहं?)हं सौ ॥६४॥ शेषं तु महाराष्ट्रीलक्षणादित्युक्रमेव ॥६४क॥ धातोः परस्मैपदं प्रायः ॥६५॥ तिप्झिसिप्थमिप्ममां दिन्तिसिथमिन्हाः ॥६६॥ हिहस्सा भविष्यति ॥६७॥ हकारे अत इत्वा ॥६८॥ स्सस्यात्वं मिपि ॥६९॥ संयोगे मिपो बिन्दुश्च ॥७०॥ विध्यादौ ति(प्*)झिसिपां दु न्तु हु ॥७१॥ सिपो हिश्च ॥७२॥ लुक् चादन्तात् ॥७३॥ धातोस्तिवादावेदातौ बहुलम् ॥७४॥ यक इअः ॥७५॥ इअ इज्ज च ॥७६॥ अतस्सन्दमविष्यत्-स्वित् ॥७७॥ भवतेर्भोभवौ बहुलम् ॥७८॥ दाणो देः ॥७९॥ भविष्यति दइः ॥८०॥ तुंनव्ययोर्दा ॥८१॥ क्त्वायां दः ॥८२॥ यकि दी- ॥८३॥ कृञः करः ॥८४॥ तुंतव्ययोः काः ॥८५॥ तिष्ठतेश्चिट्ठः ॥८६॥ दंसिटवेदरयः ॥८७॥ ग्रहेर्गेण्हः ॥८८॥ बका सह गेज्झघेप्पौ वा ॥८९॥ शकेः सक्कसकणौ ॥९०॥ एवं म्रूवच्योर्बुम्रः ॥९१॥ स्नोसादेः सुणादयः ॥९२॥ शेषं प्रयोगतः ॥९३॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Saurasenī dialect. 2. Often it differs from Mahārāshṭrī, because it follows Sanskrit more closely. 3. Excepting the points indicated in the following Sūtras, Saurasenī follows Mahārāshṭrī. 4. Regarding declension, we have the following rules. 5. *Aṅgāra*, etc., are not changed to *iṅgāla*, etc 6. In *īdṛiśa*, etc., ī is not changed to *e*(?) 7. *Sriṇoti*, etc., are not changed to *suvva*, etc, in the passive voice. 8. *Bhuj*, etc., are not usually changed to *bhoda*, etc, before the affixes *tumun* and *tavya*. 9. *T*, *th*, *p* and *ph*, when single and noninitial, are often changed to *d*, *dh*, *b* and *bh* respectively; but the rule does not apply to the words *patākā*, *vyāpṛita* and *garvita*. 10. *Th* is changed to *dh*. 11 *P* is changed to *b*. 12 *Ph* is changed to *bh*. 13 *T* is changed to *dh* in the word *bharata*. 14. *D*, *dh*, *v* and *y* are not changed, and remain as they are in Sanskrit. 15. *D* and *dh* are pronounced indistinctly. [*Dh* and *bh* are to be pronounced like *d* and *b* respectively according to Mārkaṇḍeya.]

16. *Ḷ* and *ḷ* are pronounced like *y* (or, with a *y*?). 17. With the exception of (or, In?) the words, *madanilā*, etc., *l* is not changed 18. *Ny*, *jñ* and *ny* become *ññ* (Mārk *jj*) optionally. 19 *Jñ* becomes *ṇ* optionally. 20. In the words *ārya*, etc., *ry* is not changed to *jj* (but to *yy*?). 21 In the words, *kshetra*, etc., *ksh* is changed to *kh*. 22. *Ś* is changed to *h* optionally in the words *daśa* and *chaturdaśa*. 23. But *ś* of these words is not changed to *h* in a personal name. 24. The word *vāshpa* in the sense of "a tear" becomes *vappha* and *vāha*. 25 The word *apūrva* becomes *avarūvam* optionally (alternately *auvvam*?). 26 The word *idānīm* becomes *dāni*, when it is not at the beginning of a sentence 27. The word *strī* is changed to *itthī* 28 *Eva* is changed to *yyeva*. 29. *Iva* is changed to *via*. 30. The word *āścharya* is changed to *achchhariaṃ* 31. The words *śatrughna*, etc , are changed to *sattuddha* (°*ha*? Mark °*ggha*. Rām. °*ha*), etc 32. The words *tāvaka*, *māmaka*, etc , are [changed respectively to *tuhakera*, *mahakera*, etc.?] 33. The words *agnichit* (*akimchit*?), etc , are not changed(?) 34 The word *bhāgadheya* is masculine optionally 35. The word *guṇa* is neuter optionally. 36. Sandhi is generally as in Sanskrit 32. *Punavi* and *punovi* are used in the sense of *punar=api*. 38 *Ia* is used in place of the absolutive affixes *ktvā* and *lyap* 39 But *kritvā=kadua*, *gatvā=gadua* 40 *Tva*, *tal=dā*, *ttana*. 41.- *Āva* and *āve* are used in the place of *ṇich*, the suffix of the causative. 42. *Do* is used for the case-affix *ṅasi* (abl. sing), but sometimes *ā* is also used after words ending in *a* 43 But *kāraṇāt* becomes *kāraṇā* compulsorily. 44. *Hinto* is used for the case-affix *bhyas* (abl. plu). 45. After words ending in *a*, *śas* (acc plu.) is substituted by *hāṇa* and *hānam* (?). 46. *E* is used for the case-affix *ṅi* (loc sing) after words of the *a*-stem. 47. *O* and *ṇo* are substituted for the case-affixes *jas* (nom. plu) and *śas* (acc. plu) after words ending in *i* and *u*, and the final vowel of the words is optionally lengthened (?). 48 *Jaś* (nom plu) and *śas* (acc. plu) are substituted by *o* after words of the feminine gender. 49 In words of the feminine gender, *ṭā*, (inst sing.), *ṅas* (gen sing) and *ṅi* (loc.-sing) are substituted by *e*. 50 *E* is also used for the above case-affixes in the pronouns 51 *Ṅi* (loc sing) is substituted by *hi*, *ssi* and *ttha* after the pronouns *kim*, *yad* and *tad*. 52. These pronouns are declined like the word *vriksha* when followed by *ṭā* (inst sing), *ṅas* (gen sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu). 53. *Tad*, followed by the sixth case-affix, is substituted by *se* in the feminine gender. [Nitti-Dolchi the sixth case-affix after *tad*, masc and neut] 54. The following rules speak of substitutes for pronouns together with case-affixes 55 *Ayam* is substituted for *idam*(masc)+*su* (nom. sing). 56 *Ṇaṃ* (alternately *ṇnam*?) is substituted for *idam*+*am* (acc. sing) optionally. 57. *Imāṇaṃ* is substituted for *idam*+*ām* (gen. plu) 58. *Assim* and *imassiṃ* are

optionally(?) substituted for *idam*+*ṅi* (loc. sing.). 59. *Iyam* is substituted for *idam* (fem.) +*su* (nom. sing.). 60. *Idaṃ* and *imaṃ* are substituted for *idam* (neut.)+*su* (nom. sing.) and *idam* (neut.)+*am* (acc sing). 61. *Edānam* is compulsorily substituted for *etad*+*ām* (gen plu) 62 *Tumam* is substituted for *yushmad*+*su* (nom sing.) and *yushmad*+*am* (acc sing) 63. *Taī* and *tae* are substituted for *yushmad*+*ṅi* (loc sing). 64. *Aham* and *ham* (?) are substituted for *asmad*+*su* (nom. sing). 64a The rest is as in Mahārāshṭrī and has already been treated before. [This seems to be a commentator's remark] 65. Verbs are generally used in the *parasmaipada* (active). 66. *Tip* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing present), *jhi* (=*anti*, 3rd pers plu present), *sip* (2nd pers sing. present), *tha* (2nd pers plu. present), *mip* (1st pers sing. pres) and *mas* (1st pers. plu. present) are respectively substituted by *di*, *nti*, *si*, *dha*, *mi* and *mha*. 67. *Hi*, *ha* and *ssa* are used before the above conjugational affixes to indicate the future tense. 68. Before *ha* (and *hi*?) the final *a* of a verb may be changed to *i* (alternately to *e*). 69 Before *mip* (1st pers. sing.) *ssa* indicative of future is changed to *ssā* (may be changed to *sse* ?) 70 *Ssam* may be substituted for *ssa*+*mip* (1st pers sing future) 71 *Du*, *ntu* and *su* are respectively substituted for *tip* (3rd pers. sing), *jhi* (=*anti*, 3rd pers. plu) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing) in the imperative mood. 72 *Hi* is optionally substituted for *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) in the imperative mood 73 The conjugational affix of 2nd pers sing. is optionally elided after verbs ending in *a* in the imperative mood 74. Before *tip* etc (i e. before all the conjugational affixes) verbs may variously take *e* and *ā* as a stematic vowel. 75 *Yak*, the suffix of the passive voice, is substituted by *ia*. 76. This *ia* is optionally changed to *ijja*. 77. Before *tavya* (also *tumun* ?) and in the future tense, the final *a* of a verb is changed to *i*. 78. The root *bhū* generally becomes *bho* and *bhava*. 79. *Dā* becomes *de* before conjugational affixes. 80. *Dā* becomes *daī* before the conjugational suffix of the future 81 *Dā* remains unchanged before *tumun* and *tavya*. 82. *Dā* becomes *da* before *ktvā* 83 Before *yak* (i.e in the passive voice), *dā* is changed to *dī*. 84 *Kri* is changed to *kara* before conjugational affixes. 85. *Kri* is changed to *kā* before *tumun* and *tavya* 86 *Sthā* is changed to *chiṭṭha* 87. *Sthā*, preceded by *ut*, is changed to *uttha*. 88 *Grah* is changed to *genha* 89. With *yak* (i.e in the passive voice), *grah* is changed to *geṇha* and *gheppa* optionally. 90. *Sak* is changed to *sakka* and *sakkana* (Mārk. *sakkuṇa*). 91 Similarly, *brū* and *vach* are changed to *vuchcha*. 92. *Sru*, etc, are changed to *suna*, etc. 93. The rest is in accordance with usage

Chapter X.—Prāchyā Bhāshā.

अथ प्राच्या ॥१॥ भवतः सौ भवं ॥२॥ भवत्या भोदी ॥३॥ दुहितरि धीदा ॥४॥ हीनसम्बुद्धावरे ॥५॥ इणं वेदमर्थे ॥६॥ वक्रे वङ्कुड(ड?)श्च ॥७॥ अवहतोऽप्रकृते ॥८॥ होक्खमाणो भविष्यति ॥९॥ एवार्थे प्येवचिम्मचेआः ॥१०॥ आरे सम्बुद्ध्युपेक्षयो· ॥११॥ अविद अवे(वि?)द निर्वेदे ॥१२॥ लोकोक्तयो र्व(ब)हुलम् ॥१३॥ शेषे शौरसेनी ॥१४॥

Translation

1 Now we speak of the Prāchyā dialect. 2 The word *bhavat+su* (nom. sing) becomes *bhavam* 3 *Bhavatī* becomes *bhodī*. 4 *Duhitā* becomes *dhīdā*. 4. *Are* (*ā* according to Nitti-Dolchi) is used in addressing a person of inferior rank. 6 *Inaṃ* is optionally used in the sense of *idam*. 7. *Vakra* is optionally substituted by *vankuna* (*vankuda*?) 8. *Avahata* is substituted for *aprakrita*. 9 The word *bhavishyat* is substituted by *hokkhamāna*. 10. *Eva* is substituted by *pyeva*, *chia* and *chea*. [Mārkandeya *jjia*, *jjea*] 11 *Āre* is used to indicate address and indifference 12 *Avida* and *aveda* (*avida avida* according to Nitti-Dolchi) are used to indicate disgust or despair 13. Expressions prevalent among the people are often used. 14. The rest (i e what is unspecified) of Prāchyā is as in Śaurasenī

Chapter XI.—Āvantī Bhāshā

अथावन्ती ॥१॥ महाराष्ट्रीशौरसेन्योरैक्यम् ॥१क॥ दे(ते?) रेफलोपो वा ॥२॥ इ(त?)-कारो वहुलं स्वरशेषः ॥३॥ वि(त)तिपोर्ज्जज्जा भवति भवत्ता(वर्त्तमाने?) भविष्यति तिचार्थे (विध्यर्थे?) ॥४॥ धातुतिङोर्मध्ये च ॥५॥ श्रुणोत्यादेर्यका सह सुव्वादयः ॥६॥ भविष्यत्-काले श्रुणोत्यादेर्मिपा सोच्छ[मादय*]श्च ॥७॥ भुवो हो होइ(अ?) ॥८॥ विशेषतोऽनन्तरं वक्ष्यते तद्यथा ॥९॥ तवममयोस्तुह्म मह्म च ॥१०॥

Translation

1 Now we speak of the Avanti dialect 1a. It is an admixture (?) of Mahārāshtrī and Śaurasenī. 2. In the word *tri*(?), the elision of *r* is optional. 3. *T* (?) is generally represented by the inherent vowel, but is not always elided 4. In the present and future tenses (?) and in the imperative mood(?), *jja* and *jjā* are used for the proper conjugational suffixes (?) 5. *Jja* and *jjā* are also used between the verb and the conjugational suffix. 6 With *yak* (i e in the passive voice), *śru*, etc., become *suvva*, etc. 7. In the future

tense *śru+mip* (1st pers. sing.), etc., become *sochchhaṃ*, etc. 8. The root *bhū* is changed to *ho* and *hos* (*hoa?*). 9. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has wrongly crept into the text.] 10. *Tava* becomes *tuddhu* (*tuhu?*) and *mama* becomes *mahu* optionally.

Chapter XII.—Māgadhī Bhāshā

अथ मागधी ॥१॥ शौरसेनीतः प्रायः ॥१क॥ सर्वत्र सषोः शः ॥२॥ षः प्रकृत्या क्वचित् ॥३॥ रो लः ॥४॥ जझयोर्यह्यौ ॥५॥ क्षस्य श्कः ॥६॥ न क्खो· ॥७॥ तस्य संयोगवैपरीत्यञ्च ॥८॥ त्थट्ठयोः स्तष्टौ ॥९॥ त्तट्टयोः क्वचित् ॥१०॥ च्छस्य श्चः ॥११॥ धस्य ल(ह?)· क्वचित् ॥१२॥ चुः स्पष्टतालव्यः ॥१३॥ निषेधबाहुल्यञ्च ॥१४॥ क्त्वो दाणिश्च ॥१५॥ क्वचिदित् ॥१६। कनि दीर्घः ॥१७॥ उदवाप्ययो· ॥१८॥ अधुनार्थेऽहुणि ॥१९॥ वसतौ वसधी ॥२०॥ पुरि(रु)षे पुलिशः ॥२१॥ कोष्णादीना कोशिनादयः ॥२२॥ ही विस्मयोपहासकुशलेषु ॥२३॥ लेले अले चाक्षेपसम्भाषणयो· ॥२४॥ अदन्तसोरिदेतौ पुंसि ॥२५॥ लुक् च च्छन्दोवशात् ॥२६॥ ङसे(सो?) हेत्वक्षा(हो वा प्राग्?)दीर्घश्चातः ॥२७॥ पक्षे हस· स्स ए च ॥२८॥ सम्बुदे(द्धे)रेदोतौ ॥२९॥ आह्वाक्षेपे ॥३०॥ अहमर्थे हके हगे हुग्र ॥३१॥ युष्मान्निस्वर्थे तुम्हग्र ॥३२॥ तिष्ठतेश्चिट्ठ· ॥३३॥ वृक्षे(षे)र्वंशश्च(ध) ॥३४॥ लुटि भुवो हुवश्च ॥३५॥ कृतेः कप्पः ॥३६॥ कृमृगमा क्तस्य डत्वञ्च वा ॥३७॥ भोच(च्य)ते [इ?]लोपश्च ॥३८॥

Translation

1 Now we speak of the Māgadhī dialect 1a It takes its forms usually from the Saurasenī dialect. 2 *S* and *sh* are always substituted by *ś* 3 In a few cases *sh* is not changed 4 *R* is substituted by *l* 5. *J* and *jh* are respectively substituted by *y* and *yh* 6 Saurasenī *kkh* (=Sans *ksh*) is substituted by *śk*. 7 *Kkhu* (=Sans *khalu*) is not changed. 8. *Ksh* may also be changed to *sk* (=*skk*). 9 The Saurasenī conjuncts *tth* and *ṭṭh* are respectively changed to *st* [M *sth*, *sch*] and *sht* [M, R. *sth*]. 10 Sometimes Saurasenī *tt* and *ṭṭ* are respectively changed to *st* and *sht* [M., R *st*]. 11 Saurasenī *chchh* is changed to *śch* 12. *Dh* is sometimes changed to *l* (*h?*) [Markaṇḍeya enjoins the substitution of non-initial *dh* by *h*.] 13 The pronunciation of *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* is perfectly palatal (i.e . not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāshṭrī and Saurasenī). 14. There are also violations of this rule (i.e., the letters of the *cha-varga* are sometimes elided or are pronounced as dento-palatals). 15. The absolutive suffix *ktvā* is optionally substituted by *dāṇi* (alternately by Saur. *ia*.). 16. Sometimes

ktvā is substituted by *i*. 17. Before the *svārthika* affix *ka*, the final vowel of a word may be long. 18. *U* is substituted for *ava* and *apa* 19. *Ahuni* is used in the sense of *adhunā*. 20 The word *vasati* becomes *vasadhī* 21 *Purusha* becomes *pulisa*. 22 The words *koshna*, etc , become *kośina*, etc 23. *Hī* is used to indicate *vismaya* (surprise and uncertainty), *upahāsa* (ridicule) and *kuśala* (happiness). 24 *Lele* and *ale* are used to indicate *ākshepa* (reproach) and *sambhāshana* (address) 25. *I* and *e* are substituted for *su* (nom. sing) after masculine words ending in *a* 26 *Su*,(nom. sing.) is sometimes elided for the sake of the metre 27 *Ṅas* (gen sing) is optionally substituted by *ha* after words ending in *a* and the *a* becomes *ā* (?). 28. Alternately, *ṅas* (gen sing) is substituted by *ssa* (i.e *śśa*, after masc words) and *e* (after fem. words). 29 *E* and *o* are used as the terminations of the vocative. 30. *Ā* is used as the termination of the vocative to indicate *ākshepa* or reproach. 31 *Hake*, *hage* and *hum* are substituted for the word *aham* 32. The word *yushmān* (with acc plu.) is substituted by *tumham* optionally · alternately by *tumhe*. 33 *Sthā* is changed to *chittha* 34. *Vrish* is changed to *vaśśa* 35 *Bhū* is changed to *huva* before the affixes of the future tense 36. The root *krit* is changed to *kappa* 37. *Kri*, *mri* and *gam* are changed respectively to *ka*, *ma* and *ga* and after them the participial affix *kta* is changed to *da* optionally (alternately to *da*?) 38 The *ḍa* (?) is sometimes elided as indicated by the word *vā* in the previous Sūtra. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has somehow crept into the text.]

Chapter XIII.—Śākārī Vibhāshā.

अथ शाकारी विभाषा ॥१॥ विशेषो मागध्याः ॥१क॥ दुक्षेत्तसदृत्तयोः त्तस्य क्खो वा ॥२॥ ष्टः श्टः ॥३॥ (न?) विष्टरस्य ॥४॥ स्थः प्रकृत्या च ॥५॥ श्याले शिआलः ॥६॥ हृदयस्य हितकश्च ॥७॥ इवस्य व्वश्च ॥८॥ कबाहुल्यम् ॥९॥ लोपागमविकार(?*)श्च वर्णानां बहुलम् ॥१०॥ व्यत्ययश्च सुप्तिङ्स्वराणाम् ॥११॥ स्वादेर्लुक् च ॥१२॥ संयोगे गुरुत्वं वा ॥१३॥

अपार्थमक्रमं व्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं हतोपमम् ।

न्यायकार्यादिबाह्यश्च शकारवचनं भवेत् ॥१४॥

यश्चेंहि (यवच्चुः ?) शकारभाषायाम् ॥१५॥

Translation

Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called Śākārī 1a It is a particular variety of the Māgadhī dialect 2. *Ksh* is optionally substituted by

kkh in the words *dushpreksha* and *sadṛiksha* (alternately, Mark. and Rām. *ich*; Nitti-Dolch *ik*). 3. *Sṭa* is substituted for *shṭ*. 4. The conjunct *shṭ* in the word *vishṭara* is [not changed to *iṭ*?] 5. The Mahārāshṭrī conjunct *tth* optionally remains unchanged (alternately *ita* as in Māg.) 6. *Siāla* is substituted for *iyāla* 7. *Hṛidaya* is optionally substituted by *hitaka* [Rām *haḍakka*] 8 *Iva* is optionally substituted by *vva* (alternately, *via*). 9. The suffix *ka* is often added to a word without changing the meaning 10. Often there are elision, augmentation and substitution of letters 11. There is also confusion or interchange of the vowels of conjugational as well as declensional terminations 12. The declensional terminations are sometimes elided 13. The vowel before a conjunct is optionally long 14 The Śākārī subdialect is devoid of good sense, disorderly, contradictory, full of repetitions and false similes, and opposed to propriety and good conduct. 15. *Y* is to be written above the letters of the *chavarga* (?) in the Śākārī subdialect

Chapter XIV.—Chāndālī Vibhāshā.

अथ चाण्डाली ॥१॥ मागधीविकृति· ॥१क॥ अतः सो(सा)वोदेतौ ॥२॥ ङसः श्शः ॥३॥ ङिम्मश्च हेः ॥४॥ ष्टः प्रकृत्या वा ॥५॥ वः स्वरशेषश्च ॥६॥ इवस्य वश्च(श्च ?) ॥७॥ क्त्वः इय(अ?)ः ॥८॥ ग्राम्योक्तयो वं(व)हुलम् ॥९॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called Chāṇḍālī. 1a. It is a corrupt form of the Māgadhī dialect. 2. *Su* (nom. sing) is substituted by *o* and *e* after words ending in *a* 3 *Nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *śśa* [and not alternatively by *āha* as in Māgadhī] 4 *Ni* (loc. sing) is optionally substituted by *mmi* (alternately by *e*) 5. The conjunct *ṭṭa* sometimes remains unchanged (i.e, is not changed to *shṭ* as in Māg) 6 *Va* is sometimes, but not always, elided 7 *Iva* is optionally substituted by *va* (alternately by *via*). 8 The absolutive suffix *ktvā* is substituted by *iya* (Rām *ia*) 9. Vulgar expressions are largely employed in the Chāṇḍālī subdialect

Chapter XV.—Śābarī Vibhāshā.

शावरी च मागधीविशेष· ॥१॥ च(रा)· प्रकृत्या ॥१क॥ पेक्खस्य अ[illegible]॥ अहमर्थे हके हग्ग ॥३॥ ङेसिटि(एदितौ) सौ च ॥४॥ सोर्लुक् च ॥५॥ क्त सम्बुद्धें-नि(र्नि)स्समगौरवे ॥६॥ प्रायो देशीतः ॥७॥

Translation

1. The subdialect called Śābarī is another variety of the Māgadhī dialect. [According to Rām., it is the language of charcoal-burners, hunters, boatmen and wood-cutters] 1a The consonant *'ch* (? r ?) remains unchanged. 2. In *pekkha(=preksh), kkh* is changed to * śch* (and not to *śka*) 3. *Hake* (Rām. *hagā*) and *haṃ* (or, *ahaṃ*) are substituted for *aham*. 4. *E* and *i* (?) are substituted for *su* (nom. sing.) optionally alternately *o* (?). 5. The termination *su* is optionally elided. 6 *Kā* (*ā*?) is always used in the vocative to indicate disrespect. 7. Expressions are often taken from the provincial speech.

Chapter XVI.—Takkadeśiyā Vibhāshā.

अथ टक्कदेशीया विभाषा ॥१॥ संस्कृतशौरसेन्योः ॥१क॥ उद्बहुलम् ॥२॥ एव टान्तस्य ॥३॥ सु(भ्य)सो हं हुम ॥४॥ आमो वा ॥५॥ वा (सर्वादिषु च?) ॥६॥ त्वं(त्वम)-हंसमार्थेषु तुङ्ग हमं ॥७॥ यथातथोर्जिधतिधौ ॥८॥ शेषं प्रयोगात् ॥९॥ हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्विमां टक्कभाषामपभ्रंस(श)मिच्छति न प्राकृतम् ॥१०॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called Takkadeśiyā [spoken by gamblers and other knaves according to Rām.]. 1a. It is an admixture of Sanskrit and the Saurasenī dialect. 2 The termination *u* is largely employed alternately *a*. 3 *Em* optionally substitutes the declensional termination of the instrumental singular after the *a*-stem words alternately *ena*. 4. *Haṃ* and *huṃ* are substituted for *bhyas* (abl plu) alternately *hinto*(?). 5. *Ham* and *huṃ* are optionally substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). 6. *Haṃ* and *hum* may also be employed in the pronouns (?) 7. Words of the same import as *tvam* and *aham* are respectively substituted by *tuṅga* and *hamam* (?) optionally. [Mārk *tvam=tunga*, *aham=ammi*, *huṃ*, *mamam*; *mama=mahum*. Rām. *tvam=tuhum*, *aham=hamu*; *mama=maham*.] 8. *Yathā* and *tathā* are respectively substituted by *jidha* and *tidha* optionally (?) alternately *jahā* and *tahā* (?), *jidham* and *tidham* (?). 9. The rest depends on usage. 10 According to the grammarian Hariścandra, this Takkadeśiyā subdialect is an Apabhraṃśa and is not an ordinary Prakrit dialect. [According to Hari., Apabhr could be employed in dramas]

Chapter XVII.—Nāgaraka Apabhraṃśa.

अथातोऽपभ्रंशानुशासनम् ॥१॥ तत्र नागरकः ॥१क॥ शषोः सः ॥२॥ यस्य जः ॥३॥ नो णः ॥४॥ कगादेः स्वरशेषता ॥५॥ पो वः ॥६॥ हो(फो) भः ॥७॥ सघथभां हः ॥८॥

प्रकटादावादेरात्वं वा ॥९॥ शृङ्गादे॰ ऋत॰ इत्वम् ॥१०॥ ओदौतः ॥११॥ अतः पौरुषादिषु ॥१२॥ अनादावयुजं(जा) कखतथां गघदधा वा ॥१३॥ व्यासादीनामादेरयो(यो) रः ॥१४॥ रऋतौ प्रकृत्या च ॥१५॥ गुरुलाघव च्छन्दोवशात् ॥१६॥ अज्झलौ च बहुलम् ॥१७॥ अदन्वा शसा(जश्शस ?)यो डा ॥१८॥ स्त्रिया ङि॰ ॥१९॥ डुच ॥२०॥ व्यत्यये(यो) लिङ्गानाम् ॥२१॥ स्थामोहं स्थ ॥२२॥ यावत्तावतोर्जिमतमौ ॥२३॥ भूतइत्यर्थे भूहः ॥२४॥ कइ-किंप्रदि-किंप्रदु-किंप्रु-कि(की)रा॰ पश्चामी (पश्च?) किमर्थे ॥२५॥ इवार्थे ण णइ णावइ णाइं जिम जणि ॥२६॥ जइं पादपूरणे ॥२७॥ खेदे वइं ॥२८॥ स्वच्छन्दादौ छच्छन्दादयः ॥२९॥ तदीयमदीययोस्तुम्भारामभारौ ॥३०॥ वदादयो देश्याम् ॥३१॥ एविणवेपिणवेप्येवयः क्त्वः ॥३२॥ इदिऔ च ॥३३॥ प्पिप्पिणुवो च प्रुव॰ ॥३४॥ भू-गमि-कृञां भो-गं-करा विभाषा ॥३५॥ (तुम?) एद णहुं णं णहिं एप्पि एप्पिणु एवयः(एवि) ॥३६॥ इअव्वस्तव्यः ॥३७॥ इएव्वउं एव्वउञ्च क्लीबे ॥३८॥ तणुप्पणुदास्त्वतलोः ॥३९॥ वस॰ कश्यर्थे ॥४०॥ असः स्समोरुत्वञ्च ॥४१॥ स्त्रिया जश्शसोरुत्वञ्च ॥४२॥ भिस्सुपोर्हिं ॥४३॥ हे हो च ङसेः ॥४४॥ हं हुं चाम॰ ॥४५॥ अदन्तात् टाभिसङसङिसु(सु) प्राकृतवच्च ॥४६॥ ईदुद्भ्यां ट एणञ्च ॥४७॥ भिस एहिञ्च ॥४८॥ स्त्रियामेव टः ॥४९॥ हैं (हिं?) च ङस॰ ॥५०॥ सम्बोधनबहुत्वे हो ॥५१॥ किंयत्तदां प्रथमाद्वितीयासप्तमीषु प्राकृतवत् ॥५२॥ टादौ तु पुंक्लीबयोः ॥५३॥ ङसः सुत्तस दीर्घौ वा ॥५४॥ यत्तदोरमि ज्रं त्रुञ्च ॥५५॥ ङसङ्योर्जत्तु तत्तु च ॥५६॥ स्समोरिदम इमुं न शश(श्श)योः ॥५७॥ एमु च क्लीबे ॥५८॥ अन्यदेम॰ ॥५९॥ एतद एहः ॥६०॥ स्समोरेहु एहो च ॥६१॥ यत्तदेतदां सौ जे से ए ॥६२॥ युष्मद॰ सौ तुहं ॥६३॥ जश्शसोस्तुम्हाइं ॥६४॥ भिसि तुम्हेहिं ॥६५॥ अस्मद अम्टाङिसु मइ ॥६६॥ महमहुं मज्झवो ङसि ॥६७॥ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसन्धौ बहुलमजुलोपः ॥६८॥ तुमप्रत्यये वं (?) ॥६९॥ धातवः परस्मैपदे(दि)न॰ ॥७०॥ तिपस्तो दव मसो हुं च ॥७१॥ विध्यादौ सिप इदुखिकाराश्च यस्य हुञ्च ॥७२॥ इहिर्लि(ए॑)टि ॥७३॥ इसश्च ॥७४॥ मसि कृञ॰ कासः ॥७५॥ त्रैकाल्ये शतृ ॥७६॥ तिष्ठतेस्थक्कश्च ॥७७॥ तिमेस्तिम्व(म्म?)श्च ॥७८॥ दृशोः प्रस्सदेक्खौ च ॥७९॥ स्थापयतेष्ठवः ॥८०॥ आरुषेरारुएड(राग?)ः ॥८१॥ आचक्षे(चे)रक्खः ॥८२॥ आदुवस्येड (आयातेरदूरत्वेन?) आव॰ ॥८३॥ व्रजेर्वज्जः ॥८४॥ कृञः करः ॥८५॥ ग्रहेर्गहः ॥८६॥ वदेर्बोल्लः ॥८७॥ मुचेर्मुक्क-मेल्ल-म(मु?)आः ॥८८॥ धरे(चे?)श्चवः ॥८९॥ शेषं शिष्टप्रयोगात् ॥९०॥

Translation

1 The following are the rules regarding the Apabhraṃśa dialects.
1a. Among these there is one called Nāgaraka whose characteristics

are specified below 2. *S* is substituted for *ś* and *sh*. 3 *J* is substituted for *y*. 4. *N* is substituted by *ṇ*. 5 *K*, *g*, etc. (intervocal *k*, *g*. *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p* and *b*, together with *y* and *v*?) are represented by the inherent vowels. 6. *B* is substituted for *p* 7 *Bh* is substituted for *ph* 8 *H* is substituted for *kh*, *gh*, *th* and *bh* 9 In the words *prakata*, etc, the first *a* is optionally lengthened 10. In the words *gridhra*, etc, *i* is substituted for *ri* 11. *Au* is substituted by *o* 12 In the words *paurusha*, etc, *au* is substituted by *aū*. 13. *K*. *kh*, *t* and *th*, when simple and intervocalic, are optionally changed to *g*, *gh*, *ḍ* and *dh* respectively 14 In the words *vyāsa*, etc *r* is used with the first consonant (i e. in the place of *y*) 15 After consonants *r* and *ri* sometimes remain unchanged. 16 A long vowel may be short according to the needs of the metre 17. There is no hard and fast rule regarding the vowels and consonants. 18. The suffix *ḍā* is optionally substituted for *śas* (acc plu. masc, also *jas* or nom plu.?) and *śi* (nom and acc plu neut) after words ending in *a*. 19. *Ḍi* (or, *ḍi*?) is substituted for the nom and acc. plu. affixes (?) after words of the feminine gender 20 *Du* is also used for the above case-affixes (in all the genders?) 21. There is confusion of genders. 22 The final vowel of words may be short before *ṅi* (loc sing) and *ām* (gen. plu). 23 *Jima* is used for *yāvat* and *tama* (*tima*)? for *tāvat* 24. *Bhūha* is used in the sense of *bhūta*. 24. *Kaī*, *kimpradi*, *kimpradu*, *kimpru* and *kīra* are the five words used in the sense of *kim*. 26 *Na*, *naī*, *nāvaī*, *naham*, *jima* and *jaṇi* are used in the sense of *iva*. 27. *Jaïṃ* is used as an expletive particle. 28. *Vaï* is used to express distress 29 *Svachchhanda*, etc., are substituted by *chhachchhanda*, etc 30 *Tadīya* is substituted by *tumbhāra* and *madīya* by *ambhāra*. 31 *Vada*, etc, are words (?) used in the Deśī or provincial dialect 32 *Evinu*, *epinu*, *epi* and *evi* are substituted for *ktvā* and *lyap*. 33. *I* and *ia* are also substituted for *ktvā* and *lyap*. 34. *Ppi* and *ppiṇu* are substituted for *ktvā* after the root *brū* and the vowel *ū* is changed to *o*. 34 *Bhū*, *gam* and *kri* respectively become *bho*, *gam* and *kara* optionally before the absolutive suffixes *ppi* and *ppinu* 36. The suffix *tumun* (?) is substituted by *eda*, *nahum*, *nam* and *nahim* together with the absolutives *eppi*, *eppinu* and *evi*. [Hem *evam*, *ana*, *anaham*, *anahiṃ* and *eppi*, *eppiṇu*, *evi*, *evinu*] 37. *Tavya* is substituted by *iavva* 38 *Tavya* is substituted by *ievvaüṃ* and *evvaüṃ* in the neuter gender. 39. The suffixes *tva* and *tā* are substituted by *ttanu*, *ppanu* and *ḍā*. 40 *Ulla* is used in the sense of the affix *ka* added to a word without changing its meaning 41. Before *su* (nom. sing.) and *am* (acc. sing), the final *a* of a word is optionally changed to *u*. 42. In words of the feminine gender, *u* is also substituted for the final *a* before *jas* (nom. plu) and *śas*

(acc. plu). 43 *Bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sup* (loc plu.) are substituted by *hiṃ*. 44. *He* and *ho* are substituted for *nasi* (abl. sing) 45 *Ham* and *hum* are substituted for *ām* (gen. plu) 46. Words ending in *a* remain optionally the same as in Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāshṭrī, the principal Prakrit), before *ṭā* (inst sing), *bhis* (inst plu), *nas* (gen sing) and *ni* (loc. sing) [According to Nitti-Dolohi, this rule provides for such forms as *rukkhehim* and *rukkhahim* for inst. plu. of the word *vriksha*] 47 *Ṭā* (inst. sing) is also substituted by *ena* before words ending in *i* and *u* alternately by *ṇā* 48. *Ehim* is also substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu) after words ending in *i* and *u* alternately *him*. 49 *Ṭā* (inst sing) is also substituted by *e* after words of the feminine gender 50. *Hem* (*he*?) is optionally substituted for *ṅas* (gen. sing) after words of the feminine gender 51. *Ho* is used as the termination of voc plu. (after both masc and fem nouns) 52. *Kim*, *yad* and *tad* are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāshṭrī) in nom, acc and loc 53 The three pronouns are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāshṭrī) with *ṭā* (inst sing.) only in the masc. and neut 54 After the above pronouns *nas* (gen sing) is substituted by *su* and the preceding vowel is optionally long. Ex *kāsu*, etc 55 *Yad+am* (acc sing) becomes *jram* and *tad+am* (acc sing) becomes *truṃ* 56. *Yad+nas* (gen sing) and *yad+ṅi* (loc sing) become *jatru*, and *tad+nas* (gen. sing) and *tad+ṅi* (loc sing.) become *tatru* optionally alternately *jahim*, *jassim*, *jammi*, *jattha*, *jalā*, *jāhe*, *jassa*, *jāsa* 57 *Idam+su* and *idam+am* become *imum* *Idam+śas* (acc plu., also *idam+jas* or nom plu ?) and *idam+śi* (nom and acc plu neut.) do not become *imuna* (?) 58. *Idam* with the terminations of the nom and acc plu. neut *also* becomes *emu* 59 Otherwise *idam* before case-affixes is substituted by *ima*. 60 *Eha* is substituted for *etad* 61 *Etad+su* (nom sing) and *etad+am* (acc sing) also become *ehu* and *eho* alternately *eha* 62. *Yad+su* (nom sing) = *je*, *tad+su=se*, *etad+su=e* 63 *Yushmad+su=tuham* 64. *Yushmad+jas* (nom plu), *yushmad* *+śas* (acc plu)=*tumhāim* 65 *Yushmad+bhis* (inst. plu)=*tumhehim* 66 *Asmad* followed by *am* (acc sing.), *ṭā* (inst sing) and *ni* (loc. sing) is substituted by *maī* 67 *Asmad+nas* (gen. sing)=*maha*, *mahum* and *majjhu* 68 In the combination of the stems and the suffixes, vowels are often elided 69. [The meaning of the Sūtra is not clear] 70 The roots are always in the active (*parasmaipadi*). 71. The *t* of *tip* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers sing. pres) optionally becomes *d*, and *mas* (1st pers plu) is optionally substituted by *huṃ* Ex *vaṭṭadi*, *vaṭṭahuṃ* 72. In the imperative mood, etc., *i*, *u* and *hi* are substituted for *sip* (2nd pers sing) and *hu* is optionally substituted for *tha* (2nd pers. plu.) 73. *Ihi* is used (before the conjugational suffix of the

present) in the futuro tense. Ex *kaṁhıdı* 74. *Isa* is also used (before the conjugational suffix of the present) in the future tense 75. Before *mas* (1st. pers plu) the root *kı* is changed to *kāsa*. 76. *Śatrı* (=*ant*) is used in the past, present and future tenses 77 *Sthā* is changed to *thakka*. 78. The root *tım* is substituted by *timba* (*timma*?) 79. *Drıś* is substituted by *prassa* and *dekkha*. 80 *Sthāp* is substituted by *thava* 81 *Ā-rush* (Mark *ā-ślısh*) is substituted by *ārunna* 82 *Ā-chaksh* is substituted by *akkha* (Mārk *chakkha*) 83 *Ā-yā* is changed to *āva* to indicate coming from a short distance (?). 84 *Vraj* becomes *vañña* 85 *Krı* becomes *kara* 86. *Grah* becomes *gınha* 87. *Vad* becomes *bolla*. 88. *Much* becomes *mukka*, *mella* and *mua* 89 *Vach* becomes *chava* 90. The rest is in accordance with the usage of the cultured people.

Chapter XVIII —Vrāchada and Other Apabhramśas and Vıbhāshās

अथ व्राचडकम्(कः) ॥१॥ षसो· शः ॥२॥ रऋतौ प्रकृत्या भृत्यवर्जम् ॥३॥ चवर्गः स्पष्ट-तालव्यः ॥४॥ तधौ चास्पष्टौ ॥५॥ पदादौ तडयोः टदौ च ॥६॥ खड्ड(खण्ड?)स्य खण्डु· ॥७॥ जे जिज श्वै(चै)वस्य ॥८॥ भवतो(ते)र्भोऽप्रादौ । ६॥ क्ते भ्रु(भू)ः ॥१०॥ व्रजेर्वञ(ः*) ॥११॥ वृषेर्वर्हः ॥१२॥ शेषं प्रयोगात् ॥१३॥ अथोपनागरकम्(कः) ॥१४॥ द्वयो· साङ्कर्यात् ॥१५॥ सूक्ष्मान्ध(न्त)रास्तु पाञ्चालादयो लोक(त*) ॥१६॥ क्य (?) ॥१७॥ उक्तप्राया वैदर्भी ॥१८॥ सम्बोधन(शब्द*)ढया लाटी ॥१९॥ इकारौकारप्रायौ लट्टी (॰प्रायौड्ढी?) ॥२०॥ सवी-प्साप्रायौ(या?) कैकेयी ॥२१॥ ऋसमा(बहुसमासा?) गौडी ॥२२॥ एवं ढक्क-चक्कर-कुन्तल-पाण्ड(ड्य)-सिंघ(ह)लादिभाषा उन्नेया(ः*) ॥२३॥

Translation

1 Now we speak of the Vrāchaḍa variety of Apabhraṃśa. 2. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *ś* 3. With the exception of the word *bhrıtya*, *ra* and *rı* do not suffer any modification 4 Letters of the *cha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāshṭrī and Saurasenī). 5. *T* and *dh* are not pronounced distinctly. 6. Initial *t* and *ḍ* are substituted by *ṭ* and *d* respectively 7. *Khanḍa* becomes *khanḍu*. 8. *Eva* becomes *je* and *jjı*. 9. *Bhū*, when not preceded by *pra*, etc., is changed to *bho*. 10. *Bhū* remains as it is before *kta*, the suffix of the indeclinable past participle 11. *Vraj* is substituted by *vañja*. 12 *Vrısh* is changed to *varha* 13. The rest is in accordance with usage. 14. Now we speak of the Upanāgaraka variety of

Apabhaṃśa 15. It is an admixture of Nāgaraka and Vrāchaḍa 16. The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Apabhraṃśa have imperceptible differences from the above varieties and these are to be ascertained from popular usage. [Cf same thing in XX, 18.] 17 [The meaning of this Sūtra is not clear.] 18. Vaidarbhī is characterised by the frequent use of the *svārthika* suffix *ulla* (Rām. *alla*). [The feminine forms like *vaidarbhī* would suggest that these are actually Vibhāṣā and not Apabhraṃśa which would require forms like *vaidarbha* Note also the word *bhāshā* in S 23 below. According to Rām, an Apabh dialect was considered a Vibh when it was employed in dramas.] 19 The Lāṭī is rich in interjections used to address persons 20. The Auḍrī(?) is characterised by the frequent use of the suffixes *i* and *o*. 21 The Kaikeyī is characterised by the repetition of words (?) 22 The Gauḍī is characterised by the use of many compounds(?). 25 In the way shown above, the dialects of Dhakka (Dacca?), Vakkara (mod. Makran called Vakrānta in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, or Barbara, or Vakkana?), Kuntala, Pāṇḍya and Siṃhala are to be ascertained or described.

Chapter XIX.—Kaikeya Paiśāchika

अथातो(त). पैशाचिकम् ॥१॥ तत्र कैकय:(यम्) ॥२॥ संस्कृतशौरसेन्योर्विकृतिः ॥३॥ अयुक्त(ना*)ङ्गजडदबानां कचटतपा बहुलम् ॥४॥ घझढधभाना खछठथफाः ॥५॥ कखचट-ठतथपफ(*)ः प्रकृत्या ॥६॥ कखादीना चान्यत्र(?) ॥७॥ णो न ॥८॥ युक्तानां विकर्षः ॥९॥ न्यज्ञण्याना ञ्ञ. ॥१०॥ पक्ष्म(क्ष्म)सूक्ष्मयोः पखमसुखमौ ॥११॥ र्यस्य रिअः ॥१२॥ पस्य (पक्वस्य?) पिक्का ॥१३॥ पृथिव्याः प्र(पु?)थुमी ॥१४॥ विस्मयस्य पिसुमअं ॥१५॥ गृहस्य किहकम् ॥१६॥ तिरश्च तिरिअं च ॥१७॥ हृदयस्य हिरपकम् ॥१८॥ इवस्य पिव ॥१९॥ क्वचित् कुपचिः ॥२०॥ क्त्वा तूनं ॥२१॥ टाटसिङस्ङिषु राज्ञो राचिर्वा ॥२२॥ यूय(*)-वयमर्थे तुप्फे अप्फे च ॥२३॥ भवतेर्होहुवौ ॥२४॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Paiśāchika dialects 2 There is one among these dialects which is called Kaikeya 3 It is derived from Sanskrit and the Saurasenī dialect 4 *K, ch, ṭ, t* and *p* are generally substituted for simple *g, j, ḍ, d* and *b* respectively. 5 *Kh, chh, ṭh, th* and *ph* are substituted for *gh, jh, ḍh, dh* and *bh* 6 *K, kh, ch, ṭ, ṭh, t, th, p* and *ph* are not modified. 7. But in some cases they are elided(?) [This Sūtra is not clear.] 8 *Ṇ* is substituted by *n* 9. Conjunct consonants are separated by vowel-augmentation 10. *Nya, jñ* and *ny* are changed to *ññ* 11 *Pakshman* becomes *pakhama*; *sūkshma* becomes *sukhama*. 12. *Rya* becomes *ria*. 13. *Pakva* (?) becomes *pikkā*.

14. *Pṛithivī* becomes *prathumī* (*puthumī* ? Mārk. *puthuṃī*.) 15. *Vismaya* becomes *pisumaam*. 16. *Gṛiha* becomes *kihakam*. 17. *Tiraśchā* becomes *tiraṃcha*. 18. *Hṛidaya* is changed to *hirapakam*. [Mārk. and Hem *hitapakaṃ*.] 19 *Iva* is changed to *piva*. 20. *Kvachit* is changed to *kupachi*. 21. The absolutive suffix *ktvā* (also *lyap*) is substituted by *tūnam*. 22. The word *rājan* is changed to *rāchi* optionally before *ṭā* (inst. sing.), *nasi* (abl. sing.), *ṅas* (gen. sing.). and *ṅi* (loc. sing.). Ex. *rāchinā, raññā*; *rāchino, rañño*; *rāchini, raññi*. 23. *Tupphe* is used in the sense of *yūyam* and *apphe* in the sense of *vayam*. [Some authorities have *tupphā* and *appha*] 24 The root *bhū* is changed to *hu* and *huva*.

Chapter XX.—Saurasena and Other Paiśāchikas.

अथ शौरसेनम् ॥१॥ रो लः ॥२॥ षमोः शः ॥३॥ चुर्व्यक्ततालव्यः ॥४॥ चस्य स्कः ॥५॥ च्छस्य श्चः ॥६॥ थस्य स्तः ॥७॥ स्तस्य ष्टविकृतिः ष्टः (Mārk स्थाविकृतेः ष्टस्य स्तः) ॥८॥ स्तस्य थ इत्येके ॥९॥ पिबतेः सन्तः(पिअः? Rām. पिअन्तिपि पिबतेः) ॥१०॥ कृतमृतठ(ग)-तानां कडमडगर(ड)ाः ॥११॥ अधुनादेरहुणादयः ॥१२॥ इराक्षेपे ॥१३॥ अदन्तात् सोरेत् ॥१४॥ आ(अ)मो वा ॥१५॥ लुक् च ॥१६॥ शेषं प्राकृतवच्च ॥१७॥ पाञ्चालादयः स्तव्य(ल्प)भेदा लोकतः ॥१८॥ सकारस्य रेफः ॥१९॥ शेषं पूर्व्ववदेयम् ॥२०॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Saurasena Paiśāchika. 2 *R* is substituted by *l*. [Cf. Hem.'s Chūlikā Paiśāchī.] 3. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *ś* 4. Letters of the *cha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāshṭrī and Sauraseni). 5. *Ksh* is changed to *śk* (Mārk *chchh*). 6. *Chchh* (Saur modification of *ksh*, etc.) is changed to *śch*. 7. *Th* (Saur. modification of *sth*, etc) is changed to *śt*. [Mārk. *prāpta*= *paśtte*, *strī*=*iśtthī*.] 8. *Shṭ*, derived from the root *sthā*, is changed to *śt*. Ex. *tishṭhati*=Saur. *ciṭṭhadi*=*chiśtadi*. 9. *Sta* is changed to *tha*, according to some authorities. 10. *Pib* is changed to *pia*(?). Ex. *pianti* (?) 11 *Krita*, *mṛita* and *gata* are respectively changed to *laḍa*, *maḍa* and *gaḍa*. 12. *Adhunā*, etc, are changed to *ahunā*, etc. 13. *Ira* (or, *i*?) is used to express *ākshepa* or reproach. 14. *Su* (nom. sing) is substituted by *e* after words ending in *a*. Ex *mānuśe*. 15. *Am* (acc. sing.) is optionally substituted by *e* after nouns of the *a*-stem. 16. The declentional affix *am* (also *su*?) is sometimes elided. 17. The rest is as in

Prakrit (Mahārāshṭrī, but according to some, Māgadhī) 18 The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Paiśāchika have imperceptible differences to be ascertained from popular usage [Cf same thing in XVIII, 16] 19 In the Pāñchāla Paiśāchika, *l* is substituted by *r* [According to Mārk and Rām., *r* becomes *l* and *l* becomes *r* In Rām 's Gauḍa Paiśāchika, either *r* or *l* may be used for *r* or *l*] 20 In other respects, it follows the one already discussed (Śaurasena Paiśāchika?)

HEMACHANDRA ON APABHRAMŚA

Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana, Ch VIII, Sec iv, 329-446.

The rule स्वराणां स्वराः प्रायोऽपभ्रंशे (IV, 329) says that in Apabhramśa any vowel may be substituted for any other vowel generally The word प्रायः in the rule suggests that the Mahārāshṭrī forms may be used inspite of a specific rule The rule शौरसेनीवत् (IV, 446) also allows Śaurasenī forms Note also the rule लिङ्गमतन्त्रम् (IV, 445) which says that in Apabhramśa often one gender is used for another Note furthur that many of these characteristics are sometimes noticed in Epigraphic Prakrit

Declension of Nouns (IV, 330-54) (1) देव (masc) ॥ १—देव, देवा, देवु देवो । देव, देवा ॥ २—देव, देवा, देवु । देव, देवा ॥ ३—देवे, देवँ, देवेण, [देविण, देविं]। देवहिं, देवेहिं ॥ ५—देवहे, देवहु । देवहुं ॥ ४, ६—देव, देवसु, देवस्सु, देवहो, देवह । देव, देवह ॥ ७—देवे, देवि । देवहिं ॥ Voc देव, देवा, देवु, देव। देव, देवा, देवहो ॥ (2) गिरि (masc) ॥ १, २—गिरि, गिरी । गिरि, गिरी ॥ ३—गिरिएं, गिरिण, गिरिं । गिरिहिं ॥ ५—गिरिहे । गिरिहुं ॥ ४, ६—गिरि, गिरिहे । गिरि, गिरिहं, गिरिहुं ॥ ७—गिरिहि। गिरिहुं ॥ Voc गिरि, गिरी। गिरि, गिरी, गिरिहो ॥ (3) साधु (masc) ॥ To be declined exactly like गिरि ॥ (4) कमल (neut) ॥ १, २—कवँल, कवँला, कवँलु । कवँल, कवँला, कवँलइं, कवँलाइं ॥ (5) वारि, (neut) ॥ १, २—वारि, वारी । वारि, वारी, वारिइं, वारीइं ॥ (6) मधु (neut) ॥ १, २—महु, महू । महु, महू, महुइं, महूइं ॥ The rest of the neuter nouns is to be declined like the masc. Neuter nouns ending in the *svārthika* suffix *ka* (=Prakrit *a*) will have the suffix, when followed by nom, sing and acc. sing case-affixes, substituted by *um* तुच्छकम्=तुच्छउं ॥ The rest should be declined like कमल ॥ (7) मुग्धा (fem.) ॥ १, २—मुद्ध, मद्धा । मुद्धाउ, मुद्धाओ ॥ ३—मुद्धए, [मुद्धइ] । मुद्धहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—मुद्धहे, [मुद्धहि] । मुद्धहु ॥ ७—मुद्धहि । मुद्धहि ॥ Voc.

मुद्ध, मुद्धा । मुद्ध, मुद्धा, मुद्धहो, मुद्धाहो ॥ Feminine words ending in i (e.g. मति), in ī (e.g. तरुणी), in u (e.g. धेनु) and in ū (e.g. वधू) are declined like मुग्धा ॥

Declension of Pronouns (IV. 355-81) Hem's additional rules regarding the declension of pronouns in Apabhraṃśa give the following forms. (1) The base सर्व is optionally changed to साह ॥ सर्वः=साहु, सव्वु ॥ (2) इदम् is substituted by आय before case-affixes, but in the neuter gender, its nom sing. as well as acc. sing. form is इमु ॥ (3) किम् is optionally substituted by काइं and कवण (alternately by किं) ॥ ५—कहां, किहे ॥ ६—optionally कासु (fem. कहे) ॥ ७—कहिं ॥ (4) यद् ॥ १, २—ध्रुं (optional) ॥ ५—जहां ॥ ६—optionally जासु (fem. जहे) ॥ ७—जहि ॥ (5) तद् ॥ १, २—त्रं (optional) ॥ ५—तहा ॥ ६—(optionally तासु (fem तहे) ॥ ७—तहि ॥ (6) एतद् ॥ १, २—एहो (masc., एह (fem), एहु (neut) । एइ ॥ (7) अदस् ॥ १, २—Pl ओइ ॥ Cf एक्कहिं, अन्नहिं, etc., in loc sing. (8) युष्मद् ॥ १—तुहुं । तुम्हे, तुम्हइं ॥ २—पइं, तइं । तुम्हे, तुम्हइं ॥ ३—पइं, तइं, । तुम्हेहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—तउ, तुज्झ, तुध्र, [तुहु] । तुम्हहं ॥ ७—पइं, तइं, । तुम्हासु ॥ (9) अस्मद् ॥ १—हउं । अम्हे, अम्हइं ॥ २—मइं । अम्हे, अम्हइं ॥ ३—मइं । अम्हेहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—महु, मज्झु । अम्हहं ॥ ७—मइं । अम्हासु ॥

Conjugation (IV, 382-88). In regard to conjugation, Apabhraṃśa follows the socalled Mahārāshṭrī with the following additional conjugational suffixes. Present—1st pers. उं । हुं ॥ 2nd pers हि । हु ॥ 3rd pers ० । हिं ॥ कुर्वन्ति=करहिं । रोदिषि=रुअहि । इच्छथ=इच्छहु । कर्षामि=कड्ढउं । यामः=जाहुं ॥ Imperative—2nd pers sing इ, उ, ए ॥ स्मर=सुमरि ; विलम्बस्व=विलम्बु ; कुरु=करि ॥ Future—स in addition to हि, स्स, etc ॥ भविष्यति=होसइ ॥ Cf IV, 389-95 क्रियते=कीसु । प्रभवति=पहुच्चइ । ब्रू=ब्रुव । ब्रूत=ब्रूवह ; उक्त्वा=ब्रोप्पिणु, ब्रोप्पि । व्रज=वुन । वुनइ ; वुनेप्पि, वुनेप्पिणु । दृश्=प्रस्स । प्रस्सदि । ग्रह=गृण्ह । तक्ष्=छोल्ल । संतप्त=झलक्किअ । अनुगम्य=अब्भडवंचिउ । शल्यायते=खुडुक्कइ । गर्जति=घुडुक्कइ । तिष्ठन्ति=थन्ति । आक्राम्यते=चम्पिज्जइ । शब्दायते=धुडुअइ or धुड्डुअइ ॥

Phonetic Changes, Substitutes, Suffixes etc. क, ख, त, थ, प, and फ when they are single and non-initial and occur after a vowel are often changed respectively to ग, घ, द, ध, व and भ ॥ ०करं=गरु । सुखेण=सुघिँ । शपथम्=सवधु । कथितम्=कधिदु ।

सफलम्=समलउं । Simple and intervocal म is changed to nasalised व (i e. वँ) ॥ कमलम्=कवँलु , भ्रमरः=भवँरु ॥ र as second member of a conjunct is optionally dropped In some cases र is substituted for a member of the conjunct. व्यास=व्रास ॥ The final consonant of the words आपद्, संपद् and विपद् becomes इ ॥ आवइ ॥ कथम्=केम [केवँ , cf Hindi कँयों], किम [किवँ ; cf. Aśokan किंमं >colloq *kabmmāy, ka'embāyā* in C Bengal], किह, किध ॥ यथा=जेम [जेवँ], जिम[जिवँ] , जिह, जिध ॥ तथा=तेम [तेवँ], तिम [तिवँ], तिह, तिध ॥यादृश =जेहु, जइस (cf. Hindi जैसा) । तादृश=तेहु, तइस । कीदृश=केहु, कइस । ईदृश=एहु, अइस ॥ यत्र=जेत्थु, जत्तु, जेत्तहे । तत्र=तेत्थु, तत्तु, तेत्तहे ॥ कुत्र=केत्थु, केत्तहे । अत्र=एत्थु, एत्तहे ॥ यावत्=जाम [जावँ], जाऊं, जामहिं, जेवड, जेत्तुल । तावत्=ताम [तावँ], ताउं, तामहिं ; तेवड, तेत्तुल ॥ इयत्=एवड, एत्तुल ॥ कियत्=केवड, केत्तुल ॥ परस्पर=अवरोप्पर ॥ ए and ओ, as well as उं, हं, हिं and हुं standing at the end of a metrical foot, are pronounced short. Mahārāshṭrī म्ह (<Sans ष्म, etc) =म्भ ॥ गिम्भो ॥ अन्यादृश=अन्नाइस, अवराइस ॥ प्रायः=प्राउ, प्राइव, प्राइम्व(०वँ), पग्गिम्व(०वँ) ॥ अन्यथा=अनु, अन्नह ॥ कुतः=कउ, कहन्तिहु (cf colloq. *kohāntyā* in Central Bengal) ॥ ततः, तदा=तो ॥ एवम्=एम्व ; परम्=पर ; समम्=समाणु , ध्रुवम्=ध्रुवु ; मा=मं , मनाक्=मणाउं ॥ किल=किर , अथवा=अहवइ, अहवा , दिवा=दिवे or दिवि ; सह=सहुं ; न हि=नाहिं ॥ पश्चात्=पच्छइ ; एवमेव=एम्वइ (cf colloq *emmāy, embāyā* in Central Bengal; Aśokan हेमेव) , इदानीम्=एम्वहिं ; एव=जि , प्रत्युत=पच्चलिउ ; इतः=एत्तहे ॥ विषण्ण=वुन्न , उक्त=वुत्त , वर्त्मन्=विच्च ॥ शीघ्र=वहिल्ल । कलह (Prakrito-Sans झकट; cf NIA झगडा)=घङ्घल । पर्वत=डोङ्गर । अस्पृश्यसंसर्ग=विट्टाल । भय=द्रवक्क । आत्मीय=अप्पण । दृष्टि=द्रेहि । गाढ=निच्चट्ट । साधारण=सड्ढल । कौतुक=कोड्ड, कुड्ड । क्रीडा=खेड्ड । रम्य=रवण्ण । अद्भुत=ढक्करि । हे सखि=हेल्लि । पृथक् पृथक्=जुअंजुअ । मूढ=नालिअ, वढ । नव=नवख । अवस्कन्द=दडवड । यदि=छुडु । ०सम्बन्धीय=केर, तण । मा भैषीः=मब्भीसा । यद्यद्दृष्टं तत्तत्=जाइट्ठिआ । शब्दानुकरणे—हुहुरु, घुग्घ, कसरक्क(?) ॥ चेष्टानुकरणे—घुग्घ उट्ठबईस ॥ अनर्थकनिपात—घइं, खाइं ॥ तादर्थ्ये—[कृते=]केहिं, तेहिं, रेसि, रेसिं, तणेण ॥ पुनः=पुणु ; विना=विणु ॥ अवश्यम्=अवसें, अवस ॥ एकशः=एक्कसि ॥ The *svārthika* क *pratyaya* is elided before the *svārthika pratyayas* अ, ड (cf Beng टु, टा, टि) and डल्ल । पथिकः=पन्थि । दोषाः=दोसडा । कुटी=कुडुल्ली ॥ Also the combinations of these *pratyayas*,

डश्र, उल्लड, उल्लडश्र are used as *svārthika* हृदयम्=हिश्रडउ॑। बाहुबलं=बाहुबलुल्लडा, बाहुबलुल्लडउ ॥ The above *pratyayas* take ī and iū in the feminine gender गौरी=गोरडी। धूलिका=धूलडिश्रा ॥ युष्मदीय=तुहार (त्वदीय=तुहार ; युष्मदीय=तुम्हार[1]), अस्मदीय=अम्हार ; मदीय=महार ॥ त्त्व, ता=त्तण, प्पण। तव्य=इएव्वउं, एव्वउ, एवा ॥ मर्तव्य=मरिएव्वउं, सोढव्य=सहेव्वउं, स्वपितव्य=सोएवा ॥ क्त्वा=इ, इउ, इवि, अवि ॥ मारयित्वा=मारि, भङ्क्त्वा=भञ्जिउ, चुम्बित्वा=चुम्बिवि, विच्छोट्य= विछोडवि ॥ Also क्त्वा=एप्पि, एप्पिणु, एवि, एविणु ॥ जित्वा=जेप्पि, दत्वा=देप्पिणु, लात्वा=लेवि, ध्यात्वा=झाएविणु ॥ गत्वा=गम्पिणु, गम्पि ॥ तुमुन्=एवं, अण, अणहं, अणहिं ॥ दातुं=देवं, कर्तुं=करण, भोक्तुं=भुञ्जणहं, ०हिं ॥ तृन्=अणश्र ॥ मारयिता =मारणउ ॥ इव=नं, नउ, नाइ, नावइ, जणि, जणु ॥ पैतृकी=बप्पिकी ॥

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page *viii*, line 12	— *Read* —	Śaurasenī
„ 1, line 25	— *Read* —	Ārsha-Prākrita
„ 2, line 5	— Read —	*samskrita*
„ „ line 27	— Read —	*jabān*
„ 4, line 7	— Read —	*subantādarśa*
„ 5, line 23	— Read —	*Prākrita*
„ 8, line 7	— Read —	*Aj-vidhi*
„ 9, line 13	— Omit —	*bhagavatu*
„ 11, line 3	— Read —	*Ushavadāta*
„ „ line 20	— Read —	*heradaī*
„ „ line 24	— Omit —	*porānā*
„ 12, line 15	— Read —	*rishi*
„ 13, line 3	— Read —	*kenasvi*
„ „ line 18	— Read —	*ti ttham*
„ 14, line 27	— *Read* —	second letter
„ „ line 28	— *Read* —	first letter
„ 16, line 3	— Read —	*atipraga*
„ 17, line 8	— Omit —	*nivritti* (*nivvudī*) and *āvritti* = *āudī*
„ „ line 23	— *Read* —	Aśokan Add—*Dipi* is essentially Persian
„ „ line 29	— *Add* —	Cf *ikkāra* at Nagarjunikonda (see III 58)
„ 19, line 7	— Read —	*pralamghana*
„ 15	— Omit	*Chāmtamūla*
„ 21, line 5	— Omit —	*kshudra* = *chulla*
„ 22, line 14	— Read —	*rāsabha*
„ „ line 24.	— Read —	*pūya*
„ „ line 32	— Read —	*lha*
„ 23, line 11	— Read —	*shadja*
„ „ line 12.	— Omit —	(*mukva**)
„ 24, last line	— Read —	*bramana, bamana*. Ins *bamana*
„ 25, line 5	— Omit — and add —	*nihśishtaka* = *nisimdhaya*, *ashta* = *attha* = *atha* = *adha*
„ „ line 15	— Read —	*Th*
„ 26, line 15.	— Read —	*dhutto*
„ „ line 19.	— Read —	*aprahartā*

Page 26 last line	—	*Read* —	Aśokan *katayva*
„ 27, line 5	—	Read —	*vijjhāyati*
„ 30, line 6	—	Read —	*anusvāra*
„ „ line 16	—	Read —	*nihśvāsa*
„ 31, line 21	—	Read —	*loc cit*
„ „ line 28	—	Read —	*pakva*
„ 32, line 20	—	Read —	*vidvā*
„ „ line 25	—	Read —	*bhastā*
„ 37, line 2	—	Read —	*bhottum*
„ „ line 3	—	Read —	*bhottuāna*
„ 38, line 13	—	*Add* —	The words are taken from Kharoshthī inscriptions and the peculiarity is due to Iranian influence
„ „ line 26	—	Read —	*vaidūrya*
„ 39, line 17	—	Read —	*krit*
„ „ line 24.	—	Read —	*indriyāni*
„ 41, line 18	—	Read —	*Jaumna-yadam*
„ „ line 29.	—	Read —	*luk*
„ 43, line 5	—	*Read* —	dat plu in Epigraphic Prakrit
„ „ line 28	—	*Read* —	avoid a word like *vachchhaā*
„ 48, line 24	—	Read —	*aggio* for — *aggoo*
„ „ line 29	—	*Add* —	Bases (feminine) ending in *a Mālā // 1—mālā / mālāi, mālāo, mālā // 2—mālam/ mālāu, mālāo, mālā /3, 5—mālāi, mālāe, mālāu /mālāhi, mālāhim // 6—mālāi, mālāe mālāu / mālāna, mālānam // 7—mālāi, mālāe, mālāu / mālāsu, mālāsum //*
„ 50, line 17	—	*Read* —	7, *for*—1
„ 51, line 19	—	*Read* —	(13) *Pums//*
„ „ line 20	—	Read —	*pumunā*
„ 53, line 12	—	Read —	*bahūni*
„ „ line 13	—	Read —	*bahūhi*
„ „ line 14	—	Read —	*bahune*
„ „ line 3 from below	—	Omit —	*mahātpena*
„ „ line 4 „	—	Omit —	*mahātpā*

Page 56, line 11 — Read — *imassim*
„ 61, line 2
from below — Read — *caurād =bi°*
„ 63 line 2
from below — Read — *amūo* for *amū* at the end
„ 65, line 5
from below — *Add* — and loc plu.
„ 69, line 11 — Read — *ubhayeshām*, for—*ubhayayoh*
„ „ line 2 from below — *Add*—The root *paṭh* is *parasmaipadī*, but has *ātmanepadī* use in the epics, *etc*
„ 70, line 9 — Read — *paṭhāmah*
„ 71, last line — Read — *Śruvādīnām trishva°*
„ 73, line 14 — Read — *akarot*
„ 76, line 3 — Read — *hotha* // 1st pers
„ 77, line 16. — Read — *chitchitāyati*
„ „ line 19 — Read — *vāpita*
„ 78, line 9 — Read — *nivateti*
„ „ line 13 — Read — *pāpunāti*
„ „ line 14. — Read — *thiyanti*
„ „ line 16. — Omit — *ārabhare*
„ „ line 19 — Read — Vedic Subjunctive
„ 80, line 16 — Read — *adamāna*, for — *asamāna*
„ 82, lines 17-18 —Read — *grihnāti*, for —*grīnhāti*, and *grihnanti*, for — *grīhmanti*
„ „ line 22 — Read — *grahītum*
„ 83, line 4 — Read — *bibheti*
„ „ line 14 — Read — *jānāti*
„ 85, last line — Read — *mādyati*, for—*mada*
„ 86, line 18 — Read — *sammillaī*
„ 87, line 8 — Omit — *gam*
„ „ line 9 — Read — *ukkusaī*
„ „ line 4
from below — Read — *rugna*
„ 89, line 5 — Omit — *prabhu=pabhu*
„ 90, line 17 — Read — *arpi*, for—*āpa*
„ 91, line 8 — Read — *ahilankha*, for — *ahilansva.*
„ 94, line 16 — *Read* — Paiśāchī
„ 95, line 21 — Read — *vaggho*
„ 97, lines 6-7.— Read — *sunusā* in line 7 after

			kasatam in line 6
102, line 7.	—	Read —	*T* of the word *putra*
,, 105, line 3 from below	—	Read —	*hidha*, for—*hoda*
,, 112, line 25	—	*Add note* —	It has been suggested that S 3 and S 4 form but one *sūtra* saying that *shṭa* in the word *vishṭara* is changed to *śṭa* See *Journ Anc Ind Hist*, Vol I, p 187.
,, 115, line 5	—	Read —	*lingānām*
,, ,, line 14.	—	Read —	*sambodhana-bahutve hi*
,, 116, line 19	—	*Read* —	25, *for* — 24 *at the end*
,, 119, line 14.	—	*Add note on Dhakka*—See Sircar, *Stud Geog Anc Med Ind*, 2nd ed, pp 298ff	
,, ,, line 5 from below.	—	Read —	*p* and *ph*
,, 120, line 10.	—	Read —	*ho* and *huva*
,, 121, line 6 from below.	—	*Read* —	should, *for* — is to
,, ,, line 2	—	Read —	*muddhā*, for—*maddhā*
,, 122, line 11.	—	Omit bracket at the beginning and add bracket after 'masc' at the end.	
,, ,, last line	—	Read —	*sukhena*
,, 123, line 5	—	Read —	*vipad*
,, 124, line 1.	—	Read —	*bāhubalam*